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H. M. HENRY, PRINTER.

West-Indies.

From the Boston Daily Advertiser.

FRANCE AND St. DOMINGO.

The New-York Courier des Etats Unis, states that the Government of France has been called on to decide whether it will accept the protectorate of the Government of the Dominican Republic, lately established in the Spanish portions of the Island of Hayti, and that it has decided in rejecting the offer. The Courier argues that the French Government was under the necessity of adopting this course in consequence of the obligations which it was under by treaty with the Government of Port-au-Prince, and quotes the language of the Paris *Presse*, of July 13, to prove that the Government had disapproved the act of Rear Admiral De Mosges, in accepting the protectorate.

The Journal des Debats, however, of July 15, says that it was by a decision of the 3d of March last, that it was determined to appoint Rear Admiral Laplace to succed M. De Mosges in the command of the station of the Antilles and the Gulf of Mexico, the latter having completed a three years' tour of duty in that command, and had several times expressed a desire to return to France. The Journal des Debats states at the same time, the King's Government had recently determined to augment the number of vessels destined to that station on the coast of Hayti, and had assigned to it the frigate Thetis, which is fitting out in Brest, and had appointed to the command of her, Captain Lartique, who is to be under the authority of the commandant of the station Rear Admiral Laplace.

The *Presse*, in the article quoted by the Courier, after speaking of the promptness with which Admiral de Mosges had acted in the emergency in which he found himself at Hayti, goes on to remark as follows:—"Thus far nothing could go on better. Skill, firmness, and we may add success, has been the lot of the French Representative at Hayti. But unfortunately questions like that of which Rear Admiral de Mosges has undertaken the solution, do not end, by the fact more or less accomplished, but diplomacy must have a large share in them. This has been the consequence. On one part Spain, which has never abandoned her rights over her ancient possession, had addressed energetic representations upon the course which has been pursued, and has made an appeal to the loyalty of France; and on the other hand, England, which is no more blind than we are to the future reserved for the Haytien Republic, and which understands how to interpret the Convention of 1838, wishes to extend her hand *gloved with the protectorate*, to the French part of the Island, that country so beautiful and so rich, of which the Spanish part was never but an insignificant appendage. Opposed in her projects by the representations of our Cabinet, England replies to us by objecting to us, our own conduct.

Thus it is protectorate for protectorate, with this distinction, that in running after the protectorate of the South, we run the risk of seeing that of the North fall into the hands of England. Thus in seeking to create rights over that which does not belong to us, we lay ourselves open in some sort to the claims of a rival nation over that which has never ceased to belong to us, and if we recollect what is to be the comparison between one of these territories and the other, it may be added that we let drop the substance for the shadow. Such is the situation of things which has determined the Government to appoint a substitute for Admiral Mosges. The officer who succeeds him has a great personal knowledge of the men and things of the country where he will have so delicate a mission to perform. He is besides in the intimate confidence of the Minister of the Marine, and it cannot be denied that Vice Admiral de Mackau understands the Haytien question thoroughly. Captain Lartique will therefore have the advantage of setting out with complete and precise instructions, which will facilitate the execution of his undertaking.

From the Journal of Commerce.

St. DOMINGO.

PORTO PLATA, HAYTI, July 19th, 1844.

A Dominican man-of-war schooner, belonging to Gen. Santa Anna, called the Separacion, formerly the Pilot Boat Romp, arrived off here to-day, with letters from Gen. Santa Anna to Gen. Villanueve, informing him that he, Santa Anna, had been *legally* chosen by the *legal Junta*, President of the Republic, in the city of St. Domingo. Gen. Villanueve sent his son, and sid, Colonel Toutio, on board of her to invite the Captain to bring his vessel in, which he did. He saluted the town, which was returned by the fort. The same legal Junta that Gen. Santa Anna has reinstated, are the self-chosen or appointed, who wished to, or who in fact did cede Samana to the French. The party that President Duarte is the chief of, are opposed to the French protection. Since the deposition of the first named part of the Junta, the French have been actively employed in Port-au-Prince, to create there a diversion of the Black Government against the East. The same activity in intrigue has been displayed at Cape Haytien. It is not yet ascertained with what success.

At the time that Gen. Duarte was proclaimed President at La Vega and on this side of the Island, Gen. Santa Anna was on the frontiers with his army. While there, he received a commission from Port-au-Prince, after which he commenced his march on St. Domingo—his army increasing on the route. Report says he appeared before the city with an army of ten thousand men, in a tolerable state of discipline, and was by them made President. He is in favor of French protection—so report says. Whether such protection would benefit the country, is hard to tell. On the principle that a powerful friend is a benefit, the protection of the French may possibly benefit these people, provided their commerce with other nations, and their own internal Government, are not interfered with.

As I before informed you, Gen. Duarte is a white man, about thirty years old; Gen. Santa Anna is Spanish white, about fifty-five years old. The last named has devoted all his fortune to this revolution; two of the man-of-war schooners are his private property. The existing difficulties may be amicably arranged; but I believe myself there will be some fighting, if the two Presidents can bring their followers up to it. The people don't like that sort of work.

Selections.

From the Middlesex Standard.

LETTER OF GEORGE BRADBURN.

MY DEAR FRIEND:—In yours of the 22d ultimo, you request me to "define" my Anti-Slavery "position," that my "friends" may know where I stand. At first I supposed a compliance with this request would be a work of supererogation. But I am now quite disposed to comply with it. For I find, that while some imagine I am about to vote for Henry Clay, others, declaring that I have abandoned the American Anti-Slavery Society, represent me to have "joined the Liberty party," while others, again, insist that I am "opposed" to that party.

1. As to my being about to vote for Mr. Clay I apprehend the *wish* of some of my old Whig friends must have been the father of that thought. I am unconscious of having said or done anything since my conversion to Anti-Slavery, to authorize such an impression; unless it may have been authorized by the error I committed, four years ago, in voting for "Tippecanoe and Tyler too."

A word, in passing, about that error. It was a great one. I soon perceived it to be such: though none of those, who so kindly endeavored to expose the error, were fortunate enough to show distinctly and fully in what it consisted. It consisted, partly, in under-estimating the importance of a reformer's *steming* to be consistent, as well as *being* so. If there ever were, or may be, circumstances in which an Abolitionist might consistently vote for a slaveholder, it would still be quite impossible to make most persons *see* how he could do so. I felt the full force of this difficulty in 1840; and have long been convinced, that voting as I then did, very seriously diminished my influence as an Abolitionist, by exciting, in thousands of honest minds, suspicion, I will not say of my honesty but of my consistency, almost as requisite a condition of the confidence of such minds, as integrity itself. Say what you will, reason the matter never so ingeniously, and you shall fail of convincing the great mass of men and women that the individual who preaches abolitionism, and votes for a slaveholder, is at all more consistent than the one who preaches temperance and supports a tippling shop; and failing of this, such an individual might, with little additional injury to the cause of reform, cease his labors as a reformer altogether. But my error consisted, mainly, in exaggerating the relative merits of the Whig and Democratic parties, without reference to Anti-Slavery considerations; for I was never so prodigal of charity, as to give either of those parties, as a party, the credit of possessing a particle of friendship for abolition; though with an effrontery approaching the sublime, both honor and gratitude have been claimed for the Whig party, merely because all of its representatives in Congress have not perjured themselves, by refusing to sustain the right of petition, in the sustentation of which, Abolitionists have only the same interests as other citizens. Years ago I became satisfied, that, regarding either principles or measures, no substantial difference existed between the two great parties; notwithstanding the noisy efforts of demagogues to make the fact appear otherwise. And since the Whig project of a United States Bank has become, in the words of Mr. Webster, "an obsolete idea," that difference, as I shall presently have occasion more particularly to remark, is far from having been increased. Now, as ever, all the questions which divide those parties, will be found, at bottom, to be mere questions of dollars and cents. The Anti-Slavery question, viewed in its pecuniary bearings alone, is incomparably more important than the whole of them; while it has a benevolent, a moral, and a religious importance infinitely outweighing all pecuniary considerations.

How, then, could I, who still glory in the name of an Abolitionist,—how could you, my friend, for you told me that you had not fully decided how you should act in the premises,—or how could any other man, claiming to be an Abolitionist, consent to vote for Henry Clay? He is the author of that most monstrous of all dogmas ever uttered on this side of perdition: "That *is* property which the law declares to be property. Two hundred years of legislation have sanctioned and sanctified negro slaves as property." He has told us, that were he "a citizen of the planting States—the southern or southwestern States,"—he "should have opposed, and would continue to oppose, any scheme whatever of emancipation, gradual or immediate." He has declared "the liberty of the descendants of Africa in the United States" to be "incompatible with the safety and liberty of the European descendants;" and he is the President of a society, whose grand object it is to expatriate our colored freemen; than which, it were difficult to conceive of a design more thoroughly diabolical. He has asserted, that our national "Government is bound to protect the domestic slave-trade," which John Randolph, himself a slaveholder, pronounced to be worse, in some respects, than the African trade itself, and which John Quincy Adams, though never calling himself an Abolitionist, has declared it to be "the duty of Congress immediately to abolish." He has expressed hilarious joy "that neither of the two great parties in this country has any design or aim at abolition." He lives, he riots in luxury by plundering of all their earnings, some sixty American citizens; and, at the same time clamors like a Stentor, for the "Protection of American Industry." He has been accustomed to pour forth unmeasured slander and abuse of all who are worthy the name of Abolitionists. And no longer ago than the last spring, he exulted before an audience of slaveholders in North Carolina, in his whole course, base and profligate as it has been, in relation to this great question of humanity.

I have said nothing of Mr. Clay's duelling, and his alledged gambling, which certain very religious people, about to vote for him, have taken so much pains to gloss over. These are quite too small matters for an Abolitionist to spend much time on, in discussing the merits of a slaveholder. You would not attempt to deepen the infamy of a convicted pirate, by expatiating on the enormity of a petty larceny he had committed. Besides, I think as well of Mr. Clay's alledged gambling, and his duelling, as I do of Mr. Polk's lauded piety, or of the piety of any other man stealer.

Most deeply have I regretted to find that Burchard, —who is said to have just abandoned the Liberty party and gone over to the Whigs,—and Slade, and Giddings, and even our friend Child, who all still profess to be Abolitionists, avowing a determination to vote for this transcendent slaveholder, and doing what they can to induce others to vote for him.—And carefully, most carefully, have I considered the "arguments" which those gentlemen have presented to the public, in justification, or rather in commendation, of the course they are pursuing. What are those "arguments?" They are, in substance, that the election of Mr. Clay will "settle, and forever put at rest several great national questions," secure certain great interests of the country, and prevent, especially, the Annexation of Texas. I tell those friends, that no great questions, now agitating the country, *can* be "settled," so long as the all-disturbing force of American Slavery shall be allowed to exist. By the election of Henry Clay, a new set of office seekers may be "settled," perhaps be "put at rest," on full stomach, for the space of four years, in the places now occupied by mercenary minions of John Tyler; and *that* is the only "great question" which his election is at all likely to "settle."

But what, professedly, *are* those great questions, to "settle" which, the friends in reference are about, in apparent violation of all their Anti-Slavery principles, to cast their vote for a prince of slaveholders. One, and the most prominent, of them, is that of the tariff. But I have yet to see the evidence, that on this question there is any essential, practical difference between the Whig and Democratic parties.—Nearly all the principal leaders of the latter have avowed a willingness to sustain all the "protection" that Mr. Clay himself asks for, or would deem it wise to accept. Even Mr. Polk, though probably opposed to a tariff for protection merely, yet proclaims himself to be in favor of so levying the duties as to afford, incidentally, "sufficient protection to all the great interests of the country." Practically, then, the views of that gentleman and Mr. Clay amount to the same thing. And the present tariff, so satisfactory to the Whigs, was enacted, as Mr. Webster in his Faneuil Hall speech very ingenuously declared, by the votes of both Whigs and Democrats, and would not, and could not have been passed without the aid of the latter. 'One thing is certain, (our friend Child himself has proved it): Whether the Whigs, or the Democrats, or both, have managed the matter, all our tariffs have ever been so adjusted as to throw the main burden of supporting Government on the hard-handed working men of the North; exempting the slaveholding Oligarchists from contributing their just share of the public revenue; though the National Government, whether administered by Whigs or by Democrats, have always prostituted a large portion of that revenue to the maintenance of Slavery, which both of those parties, with brows of brass, are pleased to tell us the people of the North have nothing to do with.

Another "great question," to be "settled" by the election of Henry Clay, is that of distributing to the States the proceeds arising from the sale of our public lands. A great question! How long would it take for the people to realize, from this source, the sum taken from their pockets, by a conspiracy of Whigs and Democrats, and squandered in carrying on the Florida war, which, by the help of Cuban bloodhounds and Northern freemen, was waged for the sole purpose of enabling slaveholders to catch their runaway slaves, and kidnap free negroes and free Indians. On this question, Whigs and Democrats *are* divided. But the question has an aspect, which neither of those parties, in their quarrels about it, has seen fit to allude to, but which is incomparably worthier of note than all other considerations involved in it. I refer to the principle on which those proceeds would be distributed, on which, some years ago, some of them were distributed. It is the principle of the atrocious basis of the slave States' representation in the lower House of Congress; by which, in the distribution of the surplus revenue at the time just referred to, a single slaveholder virtually received, or might so have received, as large an amount as went into the pockets of any five hundred of our Northern freemen, every one of whom, by every principle of justice and of common honesty, was entitled to at least an equal share with the largest slaveholder in the country.

The project of a United States Bank having become "an obsolete idea," I believe there are no other great questions, which the Abolitionists about to vote for Mr. Clay hope to "settle" by his election, saving, of course, that of the Annexation of Texas. And this is, professedly, *the* "great question," which they hope to "settle, and forever put at rest," by voting for that slaveholder. But how is the election of Mr. Clay going to "settle" this question? Has he pledged himself to oppose Annexation under any and all circumstances? Assuredly not. He is pledged to oppose it only under present circumstances; and present circumstances, as every one knows, may alter, and Mr. Clay may, nay, he should, by the very conditions of his pledge, if his letter can be deemed such, change with them. In his letter of last month, to Alabama, he says: "Personally, I could have no objection to the admission of Texas;" and explains his former letter as merely meaning that he would oppose it, if its admission were likely to dissolve the Union. If any considerable number of "chivalrous Southerners" should threaten, as some of them have already begun to threaten, to dissolve the Union, if Texas be not been annexed, who shall deny that Mr. Clay to prevent the execution of such a threat, would cease to oppose, would even zealously advocate its annexation; just as, for the same reason, avowedly, he advocated the infamous admission of Missouri, and subsequently "compromised" his favorite tariff principles. Prominent Southern Whigs, strongly in favor of Annexation, have expressed their entire satisfaction with the letter of Mr. Clay; understanding him as only opposing it under existing circumstances, and believing that these circumstances *will* be changed. The leading Whig paper of Maryland tells us it considers the chances for Annexation would be greater under Mr. Clay than they would be under Mr. Polk. And in perfect consistency with all this, the Whigs of Louisiana, Alabama, &c. support Annexation candidates for Congress, and for other influential political places. But, even if Mr. Clay were, "personally," politically, morally, and utterly, and never so strongly, opposed to this project, I should still be unable to see how, as a thing of course, his election would prevent its consummation. For while many Whigs, as we have seen, favor the project, and would vote for it; it is likewise true, that not a small number of Democrats are opposed to it, and would vote against it. And would Mr. Clay, after all his fierce denunciation of "Captain Tyler," and "the old Roman," for their exercise of the veto power, and after urging an amendment of the Constitution so as to abolish that altogether, would he, after all this, himself veto a bill, passed by both Houses of Congress, for the admission of Texas? If so, then he is a less consistent politician than I have taken him to be.

I believe the importance, at least the relative importance, of this question of admitting Texas, has been greatly magnified by many Abolitionists. In my judgment, its admission, bad as it might be, were by no means the worst calamity that could befall the Anti-Slavury cause. I conceive a far worse one would be inflicted upon that cause, were its advocates to give, or even seem to give, their suffrages in behalf of either of the great pro-slavery parties of the day. With my whole soul therefore, I say, Let Texas, "that nest of plundering pirates" as I once heard O'Connell designate those "lone star" republicans, let Texas *be* received into the bosom of this guiltier nation, rather than that Abolitionists should prostitute their influence to the support of *any* party, that finds in a slaveholder a fit representative of its highest idea.

The noise which certain Whig editors and Whig leaders, here at the North, are making about this matter; their appeals to the sympathies of Abolitionists, and their protestations of regard for the Abolition enterprize, can deceive none but the unthinking and the unintelligent. What care they for that enterprise? The best of them may care as much for it, as our Lieut. Governor, who came out a while since with a drivelling letter on the subject, to delude milk-and water Abolitionists into voting for the pro-slavery party, at whose hands, for some third of a century, he has himself received so liberal a share of the spoils and honors of political office. This worthy advocate of that party, in a political harangue I heard him deliver in Nantucket, having said something against the Atherton gag, took pains to add the superfluous declaration, "that he was not an Abolitionist." Those leading Whigs, and Whig editors, would sink our two and a half millions of slaves to the bottomless pit, were it necessary to give their party the ascehdency. If they are honest men, and really believe the opinions of Mr. Clay on all "great national questions" worthy of acceptance, why do they not ring in the people's ears what he says on the Slavery side of this Texas question. What *does* he say? He says, that to annex Texas to the Union would enfeeble, rather than strengthen, the slave power. And shall thorough-paced leading Whigs, here at the North, dare assert that "Harry of the West" is no competent judge of this question? On this point, will they utterly repudiate his authority? Why, one knowing their devotion, would almost as soon suspect them of resisting the authority of "the Old Harry" himself. Perhaps they do accept his opinion on this point, and *therefore* oppose Annexation.

2. They who have represented me to have abandoned the American Anti-Slavery Society, have committed a slight mistake. I have not abandoned that Society, but it has abandoned me, and all, formerly belonging to it, who hold, as I hold, to voting, as well as talking, for the slave, to so voting, under the national government as it is, until its Constitution can be made better, if, indeed, it needs to be amended, for Anti-Slavery purposes. The Society, in taking the position it has taken, and in *so* taking it, trampled on its own Constitution, and therefore virtually abolished itself. With the arguments, so-called, by which its friends seek to defend its new-fangled scheme of non-voting, and its proscriptions of all, as recreant to "duty," who endeavor to abolish Slavery by voting, a measure always sanctioned by the Society itself, until, a few months ago, it made this most fantastic somerset; with those "arguments," as with that proscription, I have but little patience. Arguments, in defence of this movement, founded on entire grounds of non-resistance, I could listen to, with respect, if addressed to me as a man, and not as an Abolitionist; for I *can* see some reasons for non-resistance; but, urged on any other grounds, I must needs regards them as only the veriest nonsense. I do not believe the movement would have been set on foot, had there been no obnoxious Liberty Party standing, or seeming to stand, in the way of some of our old friends. But I have now neither time nor space, had I the disposition, to argue against it. In the late New England Convention, I would have stated my objections to it; but that body, in the plenitude of its love of free speech, gagged me. To those who have read the unanswerable exposures, made by Thomas Earle, of the superlative absurdities involved in this no-voting theory, there *needs* nothing further to be said on the subject. Mr. E's. prediction that it would be just what all the cunning, selfish, pro-slavery politicians would most desire, I have already seen partially verified. When in Maine recently, a leading Whig said to me:—"I believe Phillips and Garrison are right, and that it is your duty to urge the Abolitionists not to vote at all." This "cunning" Whig saw, that if those Abolitionists would do but their "*duty*," as now defined by the American Society, his "slave-mongering" party would probably gain the ascendency, down there, in the approaching contest. And Henry Clay, in his famous, or rather, infamous speech, delivered in the United States Senate, against the Abolitionists, told the world, that he considered them a very innocuous set of persons, until they avowed the determination to carry their principles to the ballot-box.

3. The report of my having "joined the Liberty Party," probably arose from my having spoken in a convention and some other meetings, called by members of that party, during my recent visit at Bangor; although the Liberty party paper of that city, in a notice it did me the honor to take of my humble speeches on the occasion referred to, spoke of me as belonging to no party.

My position in relation to the Liberty Party, for years past, is known to you. Regarding it as a division of the grand Anti-Slavery army, whether laboring, as I have usually labored in this cause, as a private individual, or under the official sanction of the American Society, I have had nothing to say, either for or against it; as I have had nothing to say, either for or against the no-voting or non-resistance section of abolitionists. I have chosen to occupy ground, on which all real abolitionists, that is to say, all refusing to support pro-slavery men, in either Church or State, might consistently and cordially meet me. At the same time, I have not failed to urge all *government* men to go to the polls, and when there, always make Anti-Slavery paramount to all other questions, voting for such men only as were known to be outspoken, active, thorough-going abolitionists. This attitude of neutrality, if I may so term it, received the sanction, in my case, at least, of the American Society, until the commencement of its present wild crusade against all voting, under the national Constitution.

Though originally opposed to the policy of an independent anti-slavery political organization, I have, for the last two or three years, felt the need, a growing need, of such an organization. And however moderately I may have once estimated even the potential efficiency of the Liberty Party, I found, during my tour, last year, through Vermont, New-York, Ohio, Indiana, and Pennsylvania, where I enjoyed large opportunities of witnessing its doings, and communing with many of its leading spirits, that it had already become, actually, a most efficient anti-slavery instrumentality,—most efficient, I will add, morally as well as politically. I then indulged a strong hope, that the unfortunate warfare which, from the beginning, had been going on between it and the American Society, would soon be brought to a close, and all political abolitionists belonging to the latter be left free to act with the former. Had the resolves passed by the American Society, at its decade meeting, held at Philadelphia, in December last, been duly regarded, this desirable consummation would have been realized. But our old Society has grown more belligerent. It is no longer content with cannonading the Liberty Party, for the alledged sins of a few of its members. But, making voting itself, under this Government, a crime against God, it now wars against that party, *per se*, as Captain Tyler would say, and points its non-resistance artillery, as Henry Clay hurls *his* thunder, at all, of every party and of none, who dare carry their anti-slavery principles to the ballot-box. I now, though I cannot state the reasons of this conclusion, further than that I have already indicated them, regard the Liberty Party as *the* most efficient anti-slavery instrumentality; as the grand instrument, indeed, by which Slavery in this country is to be overthrown; while I consider all other abolition instrumentalities as chiefly useful, in so far only as they shall tend to establish a right system of political action; such a system as it is the aim of that party to carry out. Therefore, if I have not "joined the Liberty Party," I shall certainly avail myself of the earliest opportunity of joining it. The perfect hatred with which it has come to be regarded, as well by pro-slavery religionists as by pro-slavery politicians, who equally affect to be horrified at its having made anti-slavery "a political matter," tells me plainly enough, that its blows are felt, and felt in the right quarter.

Yours truly, GEORGE BRADBURN.

August 9, 1844.

To JOHN B. SWANTON, Jr. Esq. Bath, Maine.

From the Liberator.

PRESENTATION OF THE STANDARD.

Last Evening of the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, 1844.

At 8 o'clock, Mr. Walcott entered the Marlboro' Chapel, where the Convention was in session, and ascended the platform with the banner in his hand, which he had designed and executed for the New England Convention. It bore, in a red field, an eagle preying upon a fettered and prostrate slave, illustrative of American liberty, while the reverse, in gold letters, ran thus: "Immediate and Unconditional Emancipation"—American Anti-Slavery Society—formed December 6, 1833.—This Banner presented May 31st, 1844.—NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS!

Mr. CHARLES C. BURLEIGH took the standard from the artist, and advanced towards Mr. Garrison, speaking as follows:

In the name of the New England Convention, I present this banner to the President of the American Anti-Slavery Society; because we believe that this battalion of the sacramental host of God's elect, is one that no obstacle can check, that no temptations can overcome, that no fetters can bind; and because we would also thus testify our conviction, that no hand is worthier to bear such a token of high esteem and deep trust in its behalf, than the hand that first unfurled the standard of immediate and universal freedom in our own land, and which still carries it onward through the hottest of the conflict, step by step, and ever higher and higher, till it announces to the world that freemen can have no union with slaveholders. (Applause.) The contemplation of it should ever impel us onward, and may that God who is ever with the true and the just, strengthen us to follow it to the last. (Applause.)

Our confidence in the American Anti-Slavery Society is great, because we know that the weapons of its warfare are not carnal, but those spiritual ones which are destined to achieve the victories of humanity, and to which the word of God is pledged, that they surely shall prevail! (Applause.) These weapons have been already announced to the world in the declaration of its sentiments put forth by this Society at its formation. They forbid the doing of evil that good may come. They lead us to reject, and to entreat the oppressed to reject, bloodshed and violence for deliverance from bondage. They are not the marshaling in arms, the hostile array, the mortal encounter; but only such as the opposition of moral purity to moral corruption; the destruction of error by the potency of truth, the overthrow of prejudice by the power of love, and the abolition of Slavery by the spirit of repentance.

We rejoice to have this opportunity to present to WM. LLOYD GARRISON, as the President and representative of the American Society, formed on his motion, and in consequence of his labors, this token of our confidence in him and in it. Both have been faithful to the highest principle of immediate Emancipation, without compensation or expatriation. The American Anti-Slavery Society has remained true under every form of temptation, and every shock of hostility. Still, as at the beginning, its voice is heard, proclaiming the guilt of the nation, and declaring in tones that are heard above all the din of conflicting parties, that our constitutional relation to Slavery is criminal and full of danger, and must be broken up: and we therefore bind ourselves anew to go forward with it, in entire confidence in the overruling justice of God, and with our feet planted upon the Declaration of Independence, and the truths of Divine revelation as the everlasting rock. *We* may be defeated; but our *principles* never. Come what may to us, our persons, our interests, our reputations, truth, justice, reason, humanity, must and will gloriously triumph! (Overwhelming applause.)

Mr. GARRISON could not for some moments reply, so enthusiastic and continued were the cheers that greeted him; after they subsided, he spoke as follows:

As President of the American Society, and in behalf of its Executive Committee, members, and friends, I return most cordial thanks for the appropriate watchword with which the New England Convention has emblazoned this token of its confidence entrusted to our guardianship. Eighteen hundred years ago the sentiments were first promulgated of which this banner is but a repetition. If it were a banner to be carried to the field of mortal strife, it would not be a banner for us, who, in joining the American Society, avowed our principle, that in our advocacy of humanity there should be no blood shed except the blood of martyrdom. It is the distinctive feature of our enterprise that it gives no encouragement to worldly ambition, warlike strife, or plans of political preferment. But this is a banner that I, as a man, and a follower of Christ, as one whose country is the world, and whose brotherhood includes all mankind, can follow wherever it can be borne. It is a banner that I rejoice to receive in behalf of the American Society. We bear the name of this continent as significant of the place of our associate origin; not of the scope of our associate action. We bind up our mortal destinies with those of the slaves,—not alone because they are here, in this land of our birth, not because they suffer with us, and we with them, under the same Government, not because they are black; but we sympathize with them, and labor for them all over the world, as MEN, deprived of the very ground-work on which alone humanity can grow and flourish. Not to America only, nor to the slave alone, will our principles prove a blessing. Immense good will be effected throughout the whole earth in proportion as they shall prevail. The principles of right and justice, of truth and freedom, are eternal in their nature, and infinite in their extent.

This is not a local movement, on a narrow and exclusive scale. When it becomes so, then I cease to be its representative. What are our national flags? Emblems of division. What is that of the United States? The safeguard of Slavery. Well has a British poet characterized our stripes and stars; well does the world appreciate the nature of that freedom which holds one-sixth part of the nation in chains, and clearly will the world soon perceive the guilt of remaining a party to the political conspiracy that crushes them.

I rejoice to receive this banner, not on account of the taste of the design, the skill of its execution, or the costliness of the materials, but because it pertains to such a cause—because it is presented by a body of persons so just and uncompromising—and at a season of such peculiar interest in our annals, and I would add, also, in the history of the world. It marks a great crisis in human affairs—and it will, I know, be most highly appreciated, not only by every friend of the Society, but by every friend of human freedom, near and far. Who that feels deeply, and looks far, but must rejoice at the decision which has been arrived at to-day? Most heartily and thankfully do I rejoice in it, though it be a step so far in advance of the many as to subject us to misrepresentation and misunderstanding from the many. Though the National Union has hitherto afforded us no protection, though the national ægis shields us not on the south side of Mason and Dixon's line, though we cannot go to the South except to die an ignominious death, yet the cry will rise still stronger against us, now that we have as a body seceded from the Union. But is it really too much for us to say that we will no longer be a party to such a Union, but will aim to subvert and destroy the basis on which it rests? No, my friends! We are right in what we have done, and the words, "No union with Slaveholders," will be words of doom to Slavery, as the handwriting on the wall was the doom of Babylon. Let none who love their kind be found wanting when that rallying word calls them to the conflict. It is a glorious motto, comprehending in its few words all imaginable sacrifice. Let none be ashamed of it now. When the jubilee comes, we may turn to these times of struggle and darkness, and exult that we uttered the glorious sentiment in season to save our cause—perchance our country, too. (Applause.)

Abolitionists have been assailed as if they were indeed the enemies of God and man. They have been branded as fanatics because they do really and practically believe the Declaration of Independence. But through all the evil report and good report yet to come, I trust we shall never shrink from owning ourselves such, in company with all those who have trusted in God, and sought righteousness in every age and generation.

But now another term of opprobrium has been hurled against us as the last device of Satan. We are denounced and assailed as for extermination as infidels. For what? Take all the reports of our Societies, and all the official documents of our cause, and I defy you to find a single one which conflicts at all with religious faith or religious principle—with the will of God, with the religion of Christ, or with the effusion of the Holy Spirit. It is a great Christian movement with me. For Christianity goes for the freedom and the rights of all. Christianity knows nothing of black or white, Jew or Greek, bond or free! No! nor of male or female! (Overwhelming applause.) Why are we accused of Jacobinism and infidelity? We could not believe that he can be a good Democrat who sells men and women, or that a true republic can hold slaves, or a true union exist between Abolitionists and Slaveholders;—this is the amount of our Jacobinism. We know that he is no Christian minister who will not act and speak for the slave, and that *that* is no Christian Church which stands across the way of those who do. "The head and front of our" infidelity "hath this extent—no more." Now will rise the cry of traitor; and let it come, I say—let it come! I acknowledge its truth in reference to a slaveholding Constitution and a slaveholding Government—to Slavery, and a slaveholding oligarchy. But we are not traitors to a free Constitution, to a free Government, nor to the people of the United States. Our principles are the only ones on which a free Constitution can be framed, or on which a free Government can stand. This is our treason—thus far are we traitors; and I appeal to you as the descendents of the revolutionary fathers, what should we be were we any thing else? Looking to the example of Hancock, and Adams, and Otis, we should not only withhold allegiance from the Constitution, but we should belt on our sword and our knapsacks, and rush to the battle with the cry of Patrick Henry, "Give me liberty, or give me death!" But we are not bloody-minded because we have been oppressed. Heaven is our witness that there is in us no malice or uncharitableness, and that we have manifested neither by our words or deeds. An unkind spirit would resort to force and bloodshed. It would sacrifice the lives and well-being of others, to the attainment of its own rights; but when have we done this? In all our history, and with all our provocations, there is but one who has done it. He did take up the sword when attacked, in self-defence, and verifying the truth of our scriptural principle, he did perish by the sword. Though he was wrong as a Christian, who shall say that, as a patriot, his deed was not glorious?

We have commenced a mighty moral revolution, which must still roll onward and onward till it is crowned with complete and triumphant success. It is now incomprehensible to the people at large. They know not what we mean by talking of a revolution, without taking up arms; but we are teaching them how incomparably more glorious, triumphant and permanent is the revolution of opinion, than the revolution of arms and blood. Glorious old Ireland is learning the lesson. Her leading statesman, hating as he does the tyranny of England, what says he? Why, that there never was a revolution that justified the shedding of blood. Who but he who has no faith, can doubt that O'Connell is in the right, and that Ireland will conquer? Even now she has the victory, and the crown is on her head. Look! the myrmidons of England stand still before her—their arms are useless—their cannons are spiked! The white flag of peace floats higher than the bloody cross of England! (Applause.)

Thus it has been, and thus it will be with us; we have triumphed from the beginning, and we shall triumph in the end, in the strength of our fidelity, our diligence, and our endurance. We will not play at this miserable farce of political union—this terrible tragedy to the slave. Steadfast to principle in one of its demands, we are thereby strengthened for every other emergency of life. Yesterday was a glorious day for "tee-totalism."* How does the power of that moral suasion, by which the cause of total abstinence has been carried forward, throw into the shade all that could be done by dint of carnal weapons! What a glorious sign—what a bow of promise is the success of the temperance cause!

Here I wish to call your attention to a single fact. Who are the Abolitionists? With hardly an exception they are the tee-totallers. We are not men of one idea. We are not afraid that we shall, by other righteous efforts, injure the cause of liberty: no! nor are we afraid to obey God by looking at all things, and holding fast to that which is good. The Abolitionist who is afraid to examine anything that the providence of God brings up, he it is who cannot stand in the trial-hour of our cause. Look where you will, wherever righteous principle is in conflict with unrighteous practices, there you will find the Abolitionists. In the cause of purity you will find the Abolitionists. In the cause of temperance you will find the Abolitionists. In the cause of peace, still you will find them in the front rank; and it is because of the wholeness and consistency of character, which strict adherence to a general principle induces. They are not men of one idea, and that is the reason of the vitality which is to be discerned in the Anti-Slavery cause. We have been maligned—deceived—betrayed;—thousands have fallen away from us, enraged and disappointed at the stern requisitions of Anti-Slavery principle, and the impracticability of defeating those who rely upon it as a guiding-star; but still the cause is only the more potent for such desertions. Abolitionists! angels are looking down upon you in joyful approval. The eyes of the world are fixed upon you in intense expectation. All tyrants are marshalled against you by the force of a common dread, while the slaves behold you through tears of grateful hope and exultation.

No matter for your characters. No honest man will wish to have a character while Slavery remains triumphant in our land. By and bye you will be rewarded for all this loss and hazard. Nay! I take that back. How richly rewarded are we already!

Ours being such a cause as it is,—grand, fundamental, indispensable;—our principles being such as they are,—general, just, unimpeachable;—our measures being such as they are,—Christian, peaceful, judicious; we know that "God himself is with us for our Captain," and we will go on to the end of the war in the fullest confidence, that ere long we shall see the dawning of day of his great deliverance!

[Overwhelming applause, after which the HUTCHINSONS burst in with a sublime flood of song, *and the whole immense audience rose to their feet with the most enthusiastic expressions of satisfaction and approbation.*]

* The Convention had voted to adjourn over one day, on account of a great temperance celebration.

Communications.

GEORGE F. WHITE, AND THE MONTHLY MEETING OF NEW-YORK.

This individual has been for the last six or seven years, laboring with the most untiring zeal to blind the eyes of Friends to one of their cardinal testimonies—that in relation to slavery; and his endeavors have been attended with considerable effect. To this cause, in great measure, may justly be attributed the retrograde movements of very many in the Society. One would suppose that the discord and disunion produced by this person would, long ago, have opened the eyes of all, as it has those of many, to his true position. But so far from this, several in the station of ministers in the Society, seeing the applause bestowed upon him, have adopted the same course, and seem emulous to excel in this unhallowed warfare against every attempt for a reformation of existing evils.

I can say, most truly that I feel no pleasure in exposing the weaknesses and absurdities of the Society of Friends, or any portion of it, further than such exposure may have a tendency to correct the evils that exist in it. I am well aware that the statements I am about to make, will astonish many, and grieve the sincere-hearted, but I hope it may tend to stir them up to apply a remedy.

In the early part of last 4th month, George said in his public discourse in Rose-street meeting, that the hireling priests were no better than the priests of Baal—there was not one of them a bit better than the most degraded being that crawls the streets. A few weeks after he declared in Hester-street meeting, that the hireling abolition editors, book-agents, and lecturers, were worse than the hireling priests—the latter were fit to be princes—judges in Israel, compared with them—that the former, the abolition editors, &c. were worse than Ahab or Jezebel—that their leaders hold sentiments that lead to the grossest licentiousness, that they would yet dwell together and those that see them will loathe them. This frantic reviler seemed at a loss for language sufficiently strong to express the bitterness of his spirit.

At the close of the meeting I asked a person in the station of a minister, if he could recognize what we had just heard as gospel ministry. He replied, with emphasis, "Yes, that is the gospel, that is the gospel." I have been so long inured to such declamation, that it excites in my bosom no other sensation than pity, bordering on contempt for the sottish ignorance that could not distinguish between the gospel of Jesus, and the effusions of the disordered brain of the preacher. It is known to the readers of the Standard, that abolitionists, the friends of temperance and non-resistance, have long been objects of his scorn and bitter denunciations, but of latter time, he places in the same category lecturers on capital punishment. That a society professing to be intelligent, should endorse such vituperation, is matter of astonishment, and bespeaks a delusion almost equal to that which marked the followers of Matthias. The members of the monthly meeting of New-York consider themselves as possessing superior light and knowledge to any other religious denomination. The preacher above mentioned, has frequently told them that they are a peculiar people—that there is no religious society whose principles lead to justice, mercy, and truth, but theirs. This doctrine chimes in well with their vanity, and preposterous as the idea may seem, many receive it as gospel truth. We often hear it said that the priests deceive the people, and deal out a divination of their own brain for gospel, and that those who support them are "priest-ridden." But I think it will be

with the doctrines and history of their own society; they are aware of this, and have but little confidence in their own judgment, notwithstanding their high pretensions, and hence they are exposed to be led into the mazes of wild and airy speculation, by any wild enthusiast, who may rise up or come among them.

The foregoing will not be deemed extravagant or harsh, when the reader is informed that the individual referred to, is in the habit of making, in his public discourses, the most invidious and false charges against abolitionists and others, having a tendency, as far as his influence extends, to render them odious. Such as the following: "Abolitionists say that the only hope of the slave is not in God or in truth, but in themselves;" this he pronounced flat blasphemy. But the charge was false. "Too lazy to work, ashamed to beg, and some of them, though it appears not all, afraid to steal—that they are perched up, looking for their prey, and when they see it, they pounce upon it, and they have succeeded almost to a miracle, in filching people out of their money." On one occasion he said that "a slave, recently, who had suffered the effects of his criminal conduct, and been thus led to calm reflection, chose to go back into slavery with his master, and to endure all the evils of that condition, notwithstanding his former experience of them, rather than stay with those hypocritical workers of popular righteousness, who had interfered in his behalf." He here alluded to Tom Hughes, in the well known Darg case. This statement was not true; it has been satisfactorily proved that he did not go to the South as a slave—he is now a free man, and resides at the North. He added, "For my own part, I commend his choice. I had a thousand times rather be a slave, and spend my days with slaveholders, than to dwell in companionship with Abolitionists."

At another time, "he stated that there was a case of recent occurrence, in which some, or one or more, of a body professing these [non resistance] principles, threatened to make a forcible entry into a house from which they believed they were unjustly excluded." This statement was also false. I might continue these absurdities to almost any length, but I think the foregoing sufficient to justify all I have said in regard to Rose-street meeting. I will now state a few facts in relation to doctrine. G. F. W. has asserted that a man may hold tens of thousands of slaves—he may deal in spirituous liquors—he may stain the streams with the blood of his fellowmen—he may march at the head of his serried columns to the tented field, fully determined to slay as many as he may lead, and not sin against God. A man may join a banditti—he may sail under the pirate's flag—he may steep his feet in the blood of the slain, and not sin against God. Paul did not sin in persecuting the Church, he was blessed in it. Jesus took the devil for an angel of light, and reasoned with him as a friend.

G. F. W. has lately discovered that no Friend can receive any pecuniary aid toward defraying his expenses when travelling as a minister; he lately asserted that no gospel minister ever received one dollar on this account, and gave as a reason why he did not prosecute his lately proposed visit to Europe, that he had not funds of his own, and was not easy to receive assistance from others. Now it is well known that Friends who have made religious visits to that country have had their passages paid by the Society, (I know of but one exception,) and generally their travelling expenses, they mostly being persons in moderate circumstances, and unable to defray them out of their own pecuniary resources. In one instance, they amounted to several thousand dollars. And many friends who have travelled in this country, on a mission of gospel love, have had their expenses paid, either by the meetings or by individuals among whom they labored. None of these, according to George's doctrine, could have been ministers of the gospel. The meetings in many places have committees appointed to see that the services of travelling Friends should not be cramped for want of pecuniary means.

A friend, recently, following in the footsteps of G. F. White, bore his testimony against the different benevolent associations now existing among us, and particularized the Temperance Society. He quoted the charge made against Jesus,—"He casteth out devils by Beelzebub, the chief of the devils,"—and then added his reply, "A house divided against itself, cannot stand." This Friend seemed to take it for granted, that the different benevolent societies were acting in the same spirit with those whom they are endeavoring to reform. I thought this uncharitable. He reminded me of those who queried of Jesus, "Wilt thou that we command fire to come down from heaven and consume them, i. e. those Samaritans that did not receive him, "because his face was as though he would go to Jerusalem. But he turned and rebuked them, and said, ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of." It is astonishing that any should conceive themselves called upon to oppose the Temperance movement, when it is evident that they have been instrumental in reclaiming thousands from the most degrading poverty and wretchedness, to comfort and respectability. I thought the communication here noticed, savored more of a wordly spirit, than it did of the gospel of Jesus. It was certainly beside the function of a gospel minister. A stranger might readily suppose, on hearing some of the preachers of the Society of Friends, that they thought the spirit of Truth was limited to themselves, and that no others had access to it. "Thanks be to God for his unspeakable gift," it is as universal as the air we breathe, and if we apply the test given by high authority, "Ye shall know them by their fruits," we may safely conclude that there are many who do not go under that name, who obey its teachings as faithfully as any in the Society. Jesus said, "Other sheep I have, which are not of this fold."

A Friend who lately made a religious visit to the South, on her return home, spoke with much self-complacency of the kind manner in which she had been received by the slaveholders; but she did not inform us that she denounced the Anti-Slavery Associations, as seeking to do good of themselves, and therefore cannot really anticipate the blessing of God on their labors; such preachers, whatever they may profess, will always find ready access to the oppressors of the human family, and instead of convincing them of the evil of their doings, strengthen their hands in it.

My heart is often pained, and my spirit bowed into the very dust, to see how the sacred office of the ministry is perverted to selfish and sinister purposes. How are the mighty fallen? Truly, "Thy prophets have seen vain and foolish things for thee: and they have not discovered thine iniquity to turn away thy captivity."

ISAAC T. HOPPER.

LETTER FROM W. W. BROWN.

The writer of the following letter has been recently a slave. I give his letter without any alteration whatever:

ALBION, Orleans County, N. Y.

FRIEND GAY:—I write to inform you, and the friends of freedom in the East, of the progress of the cause in Western New-York. We had a grand and glorious meeting in this place last evening. The Clergy here, as they are in almost all other places, were against us. Though they were against us, yet they could not prevent our having a meeting. The friends of the cause obtained the Court-house, and long before the time for the meeting to commence, the house was crowded to *a jam*, and that, too, with some of the first citizens of this place. This village is noted for its mobocratic spirit, and we anticipated something of the kind last evening; but a more orderly audience never assembled in this or any other place. The fact is, they came up to hear the subject of American Slavery discussed—they came up to hear one that had felt the sweets of Slavery.—and they heard as with due patience. I sounded the tocsin of Disunion into the ears of that vast assemblage. Not a hiss or groan was heard, but all was as calm as death. I am more than ever convinced that the watchword of the American Anti-Slavery Society should be the watchword of all Abolitionists. At the close of the meeting, the audience unanimously requested us to hold another meeting in the same house, and we accordingly consented to do so. I shall hold meetings every day and evening until I leave for Ohio, which will be in the course of ten or twelve days. Our principles need only to be known to be embraced.

The day is not far distant when Disunion will be the watchword of all Abolitionists—I mean all true and tried friends of the slave. I have appointed a meeting for the 1st of August, and I expect a grand turn-out on that day. Anti-Slavery is on the gain in Western New-York. The Western New-York Anti-Slavery Society has done all that has been done in this section since those noble spirits who came on the One Hundred Conventions in this State, and in the West, last summer, were here. Cannot those self-sacrificing men who came through here last summer, be induced to visit the West again? I find opposition here which comes under the cloak of Anti-Slavery—I mean New Organization, and priestcraft, which is virtually the same, at least in some parts of New-York. The Clergy are opposed to me here, because I am opposed to the Clergy; and I am opposed to the Clergy, because they are the deadliest enemies of our cause, of all reforms, and of Christianity. The churches are closed against us. Yes, those modern Pharisees are, as Gerrit Smith says, the most corrupted body of men on earth. But the Clergy, with all their host, cannot hinder the Anti-Slavery movement; our cause is just, and it must and will triumph.

Yours, for the cause,
WM. W. BROWN.

ABOLITION SUPPORT OF HENRY CLAY.

From the Pennsylvania Freeman.

To D. L. Child.—Respected Friend,—A few readers of the Standard in this region, who also profess friendship for our principles, have intimated a prospect of voting for Clay, and the principal reason given, is, that the Standard *has been* a very judicious paper, and that its late editor evidently means to vote for Clay, and that if *he can*, with his superior opportunities of viewing the whole question, *they can* vote for him. I think, myself, the Standard has given evidence sufficient to lead to such a conclusion, and as the truth upon the point is important, I respectfully request thee to inform thy numerous friends of the facts in the case, through either the Standard or Freeman. Truly thy friend,

J. FULTON, JR.

ANSWER OF D L. CHILD, TO JAMES FULTON, JR.

[*Continued.*]

But Henry Clay is a slaveholder, and some of my abolition brethren think that to support a slaveholder, under any circumstances, is to be recreant to the cause. I do not mean to be recreant to the cause of the slave. I glory in it, and would not exchange "for Rothchild's wealth or Sir Walter's fame," the satisfaction I derive from serving it.

I do not know an Abolitionist, who I think would support a man for the presidency merely because he is an Abolitionist. Then is it not inconsistent to oppose one merely because he is a slaveholder? The reason is as superficial in one case as the other. The first and most important question in both is what is the candidate capable of doing, and what, if elected, *will he do*, for the cause? We vote not for names, but for things, for systems, for the known and settled policy of a party. Mr. Clay could not, even if so disposed, refuse to carry out the distinctive principles of the Whig party. For example, he could not, without meanness and perfidy of which I believe him incapable, interpose the executive influence as Tyler did, to reprieve the infamous "21st Rule," should the Whigs, as they assuredly will, on the first Monday of December, 1845, demand its death. The maintenance of the right of petition, the freedom of speech and of the press, and opposition to Texas, are, and have long been as much Whig *tenets* as the tariff. Let us recur to some of the facts. In the year 1836, on *Pinckney's* resolution that our petitions should be "neither printed nor referred, but laid on the table without further action," 62 Northern Democrats, 1 Northern Whig, and 56 Southern members voted in the affirmative; and 43 Northern Whigs, 17 Northern Democrats, and 6 Southern members voted in the negative. Majority in favor of the resolution, 53. Had 27 of the Northern Democratic votes in favor of the resolution, been given against it, it would have been defeated, and the country saved from the tyranny, the disgrace, and the evil example of the whole series of outrages, committed by Congress upon the first principles of liberty, and the fundamental rights of the people. In January 1837, on the proposition of *Hawes'* of Kentucky to renew the Pinckney resolution, 65 Northern Democrats, no Northern Whigs, and 64 Southern members voted in the affirmative, and 57 Northern Whigs and 12 Northern Democrats in the negative. In December 1837, in consequence of a motion and speech of Mr. Slade, a leading Whig, in favor of the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, Patton's resolution a our petitions, and all other papers touching the abolition of Slavery, or the *American* slave-trade, should be laid on the table, "without being *debated*, printed, *read* or referred," was brought in. On this resolution, 51 Northern Democrats, 1 Northern Whig, and 70 Southern members, voted in the affirmative; and 59 Northern Whigs, and 15 Northern Democrats in the negative. This was the first *gag-law*, as it not only suppressed the right of petition on the part of the people, but also the right of their representatives to make a motion, or utter a word in the House. Of the Northern men, who opened their mouths to take the gag, 41 were Democrats, and 1 Whig. All the Southern members, 70 in number, united to put it in and bind it on. Of those who made resistance, 59 were Northern Whigs, and 15 Northern Democrats. Majority for the resolution, 48. Of course, less than half the Northern Democrats who voted for it, could have defeated it.

On the 12th day of December, 1838, the same resolution was moved by *Atherton*, of New Hampshire, with the addition of an insidious phrase, viz: "Upon presentation thereof" which created a doubt whether petitions were in reality *received* under this resolution. Thus with stealthy step, cowardice and conscious guilt advanced to the open outrage of the following session. That the manner of proceeding might be in keeping with the object, the mover made a lengthy speech, and closed it by moving the previous question, which his accomplices sustained, wisely precluding reply. The vote stood, fo the resolution, Northern Democrats 52, Northern Whigs 1, Southern members 75; against the resolution, Northern Whigs 60, Northern Democrats 15, Southern members 3. Majority 48.

The preceding resolutions being simple orders of the House, were subject to the will of the majority, if they should see fit at any time to receive a petition, but the slaveholders, encouraged by these repeated proofs, that their Northern mercenaries feared neither God nor their constituents, proceeded to give the mortal stroke to the freedom of debate and the right of petition. On the 28th day of January, 1840, the House voted to add to its standing rules and orders, (which cannot be dispensed with or rescinded during the session without a majority of two-thirds,) the following, viz:

"No petition, memorial, or other paper, praying for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, or any State or territory, or the slave-trade between the States or territories of the United States, in which it now exists, shall be received by the House, or entertained in any way whatever."

As usual, the previous question was called and free breath stifled. There were in favor of this infamous rule, Northern Democrats 27, Northern Whigs 1, Southern members 84; and against it, Northern Whigs 64, Northern Democrats 38, Southern Whigs 4. Majority 6; wanting only three of the Northern Democratic votes to have defeated it. This rule has been regularly renewed at every session, except when the Whigs were in power, with ranks as yet unbroken. At the opening of the first session of a whig Congress, Mr. Adams moved to rescind the rule, arguing the motion as a necessary part of Whig policy in opposition to the gag and *lettre de cachet* system of the party just then discarded by the nation. From this doctrine not a Whig expressed dissent. In favor of the motion there were Northern Whigs 78, Northern Democrats 30, Southern Whigs 4; against it, Northern Democrats 21, Northern Whigs 1, and Southern members 82. On motion of a Democrat from Pennsylvania, this vote was subsequently reconsidered, and the gag restored by a majority of 2. At the beginning of every session since, Mr. Adams, unfaltering in the discharge of his duty, and as confessedly the leader of the Whigs in the House of Representatives, as he is of those favorable to abolition, has repeated his motion, for the recision of the gag rule. At the regular session of 1841-2, it was sustained by a vote of 96 to 88. Majority 8. In the session of 1842-3 it was sustained by 106 to 102. Majority 4. In these cases the division was just about the same as in the preceding. I have not at hand the means of an accurate analysis, but the Washington letters of those periods, represent the Northern Democrats to have gone, as a party, with the slaveholders for the gag, and the Whigs, almost to a man, against it. At the late session, after the gag rule had been stricken out by a majority of 20, its friends avoided the effect of that vote by refusing to adopt the rules as amended, and a previous motion having been adopted that the rules of the preceding session be observed until otherwise ordered, the 21st, now the 25th Rule, was thus left in full force. This is the last vote which has been taken annulling the right of petition, and the liberty of speech, and debate. There were for it, Northern Democrats 26, Northern Whigs 0, Southern members, without distinction of party 62; against it, Northern Whigs 44, Northern Democrats 38, and Southern Whigs 5. Majority for the gag, 1.

The Northern Democratic vote against the gag, which on the preceding evening was 55, had been reduced during the night no less than 17! Of these, 8 were absent or *dodged*, as it is called, and 9 changed their votes. No Whig changed his vote, and there was but one, Hardin, of Illinois, absent. Duncan, of Ohio, and Davis, of Indiana, had both made speeches against the rule, and on the final question voted against; it but when they found that amajority had voted the same way, and that the slave-driving Virginia speaker was making an awful pause before declaring the decision of the House, they rose and changed their votes! This is a common trick. The effect is to arm members, capable of resorting to it, with a *casting vote*. The encouragement which such a practice offers to bribery is obvious. No doubt it had been arranged during the preceding night that the Northern Democrats should continue to take the gag and force it into the mouths of the Whigs; but wishing to do this with as little wear and tear of conscience, and as little expense of popularity at home as possible, they doled out their support in this sparing manner. I have no doubt that if ten or twenty more Democratic votes had been wanting, they would have been forthcoming. How characteristic of the party, which two months afterwards nominated Polk and Dallas, in obedience to the mandate of the same slave-masters, and in desertion of him, whom their constituents had, upon argument, determined to prefer! One of the considerations which the slaveholders urged most strenuously upon their Northern allies, was that bereaving them of their gag was part and parcel of the Whig policy, that Adams was the Whig leader of the House, that he had always fought this rule, and that to yield in a matter to which such notoriety and importance had been given, would be nothing less than to manufacture a great triumph for him and the Whigs, which could not fail to affect the ensuing election. This argument I have reason to think, prevailed in some instances where every other failed.

The cases which I have thus cited give a very narrow and imperfect view of the action of the Whig party as bearing on Slavery. If we will examine we shall find them presenting at every point a steady front of opposition to the tyranny, the encroachments, the threats, and violence of Slavery.

It is generally known that the territory of Florida has passed laws by which colored seamen, citizens of the Free States, or of countries in amity with the United States, are, upon arriving there, arrested and confined at the charge of the vessel, and if not taken away, and the costs paid before a certain day, then they are sold into slavery *forninety-nine years*. Other enormities fatal to liberty, and shocking to humanity, are enacted by the same law. On the 1st of January, 1843, a Whig from the State of New-York, Mr. *Morgan*, moved that the Committee on Territories inquire into the expediency of annulling said law. Mr. *Weller*, of Ohio, a Democrat, immediately moved to lay the motion on the table, thus cutting off discussion.

The vote stood for Weller's motion, Northern Democrats 39, Northern Whigs 3, Southern members without distinction of party, 70; against it, Northern Whigs 66, Northern Democrats, 12. Another attempt to annul this audacious act was made by Mr. *Briggs*, now Governor of Massachusetts, but with a similar result.

On the petition of a large number of the citizens of Boston, Mr. *Winthrop*, Chairman of the Committee on Commerce, made from that committee a report against all laws of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Louisiana, authorizing the confinement, whipping, and sale of colored seamen from the free States, who may enter the ports of the United States, lying within the geographical limits of those States. Five thousand extra copies of this report were ordered to be printed for general distribution. This is a matter of course in every case of an elaborate report on a subject of general interest. Nevertheless about twenty of the most unflinching Northern Democrats voted against it. But it was soon discovered by the slaveholding fanatics, that there were reasons given in this report which it might be dangerous to publish. A motion was therefore brought forward at the next meeting of the House, to reconsider the vote to print extra copies. It might have been expected, (by one not acquainted with them,) that the "peculiar" friends of "the poor," of "State rights," "sailor's rights," "free-trade," and "the diffusion of information among the people," would have promptly frowned upon a movement so opposed to all these pretensions, and so depreciating to the Democratic stock in trade. Not at all; 36 Northern Democrats, 2 Northern Whigs, and 74 Southern members, without distinction of party, voted for the reconsideration; and 69 Northern Whigs, 8 Northern Democrats, and six Southern Whigs against it. The motion to print was then laid on the table by a similar vote. But Mr. Rayner, an able man from North Carolina, had made a minority report, he being the only dissenting member of the Committee; and it was concluded by the Southern members, to be best upon the whole to print Mr. R's report, and of course, the extras. And now this being signified, and a motion made to that effect, these 36 Northern Democrats faced to the right about, and went unanimously for the extra copies!

On the first of Jannary, 1843, Mr. *Slade*, now about to be made the Whig Governor of Vermont, presented in the House of Representatives a series of resolutions against the Christian slave-trade, carried on in sight of our Capitol; and he asked a dispensation from the gag, in order to move them. For granting the dispensation there were, Northern Whigs, 61 Northern Democrats 12; against it, Northern Democrats, 38, Northern Tyler men, 1, Northern Whigs 2. Southern members without distinction of party, 72.

In October, 1842, Monterey, the Capital of California, included within an immense territory, as large as Texas, which our Government has long been endeavoring to buy in that quarter, was taken possession of by a United States Squadron, under Commodore Jones. I have no doubt that this was done in pursuance of secret, as it was in conformity with the *spirit* of the public orders of Tyler and Upshur, the latter being then Secretary of the Navy. One proof of this is, that Jones has never been brought to trial or an inquiry. I predicted this, as you may see in the pamphlet to which I have referred, from the moment that the extraordinary outrage was announced. I believed it to be a phenomenon, connected with an enormous system of gradual usurpation by means of a little force, and a great deal of diplomacy, solely for the aggrandizement of the slave power, and the slave interest in this republic. The active brain of the late Secretary of State had conceived, and his unblenching hardihood and ambition prepared to execute it. It will be remembered that the invasions and depredations committed by General Jackson in Florida, whether they were avowed or disavowed by our Government, did greatly facilitate the negotiation for the surrender of that province. Mr. Adams moved a resolution condemning the Monterry outrage, one of the most base and unprovoked of its kind. For this resolution there were Northern Whigs 58, Southern Whigs 16; and against it, Northern Democrats 34, Northern Tyler men 1, Northern Whigs 1, Southern members, chiefly Democrats, 44. Such a vote as this, and other circumstances to which I shall presently allude, incline me to rely on Southern Whig Slaveholders for patriotism, and respect for the rights of man and of nations, much more than upon Northern servile Democrats.

The effect of slave labor to kill land, and the consequent impatience of a large portion of the South to possess themselves of the rich reservations of the Indians, were at the bottom of the perfidious and expensive scheme of banishing those original and rightful proprietors. The Whigs always opposed this dishonest and cruel policy; and they opposed the Florida war, a branch of it.

In 1836, Calhoun, pursuing the recommendation contained in the annual message of President Jackson, brought into the Senate a bill to establish a censorship upon newspapers and other printed matter, circulated through the Post-Office. The bill proposed to make every petty postmaster a *censor*, to invest him with authority to establish his *index expurgatorius*, and to circulate or suppress at his pleasure, any publication. It made him the sole judge, in secret inquisition, of what he should suppress, and what he should permit to go to the people. For this bill, 16 Democrats and 2 Whigs gave their yeas, and against it, 9 Whigs and 9 Democrats their nays. There was a tie, and Mr. Calhoun called aloud, "Where is the Vice President." [Mr. Van Buren.] He was on hand, and immediately resumed the chair, and gave his casting vote for the bill; but it was finally defeated, chiefly by the Whigs.*

On the 6th of February, 1837, the question of the *reception* of Anti-Slavery petitions was first raised in the Senate. A great number of those petitions having been presented, the motion was made that they be received, whereupon Mr. *Hubbard*, of New Hampshire, moved that this motion lie on the table. In favor of this, there were Southern Democrats 20, Southern Whigs 5, Northern Democrats, 7; against it, Northern Whigs 9, Northern Democrats 5, Southern Whigs [Henry Clay] 1. I have referred to this vote, because it was the first of the kind, and not because it is most favorable to the character of Whigs. They have given many better votes on the same question. On the 8th of February, 1839, Mr. Clay of Alabama, moved to lay the question of considering *Morris's* resolutions against Slavery and the Slave-trade, on the table. For this there were Democrats 20, Whigs 2; against it, Whigs 10, including *Clay*, of Kentucky, and Democrats 5.

In February, 1839, and again in January, 1840, the Whig Senators, with Mr. Clay at their head, voted against the armed occupation of Florida, and they resisted every attempt of Jackson and Van Buren's administrations, to involve us in a war, ostensibly for a bundle of claims, mostly trumped up, but in reality to cover robbery with the specious name of conquest. This was a shadow of the Texas treaty, cast across the path of the Whig Senators; and they behaved precisely as we should wish them to do, if we could now dictate in presence of the event, the manner of preparing for it. I think that the Whigs did at that time save us from war, a war having no real object but the extension and security of Slavery; and that they again saved us by the timely conclusion of the Ashburton Treaty. There is no doubt that the Annexationists saw with regret and chagrin the healing of a wound, which they wished to keep open, both as increasing the chances of war, and as furnishing means of irritating the North at any moment into a blind concurrence in their wicked and deep-laid scheme of slave aggrandizement. I am persuaded that if that Treaty had not been made and ratified while Tyler thought it still politic to keep measures with the Whigs, it would not have been made at all, and we should most likely have been in the midst of a war with Great Britain and Mexico at this moment!

On the 14th of June, 1838, the Texas question was brought before the Senate by Mr. Preston, of South Carolina, (a man who seems to have mistaken his party,) in the shape of a resolution for the re-annexation of Texas. To keep properly before us the affinities of important agents of the Texas plot, I observe here that this individual threatened in the Senate, to hang, in spite of all the Governments upon earth, including the Federal, every Abolitionist who set foot in South Carolina; and that he boasted of the Compromise Act as the work of "the Southern whip." Mr. Preston's resolution was laid on the table, 24 to 14. Clay, Webster, and all the Whigs, except 2, voting in the affirmative; and 12 Democrats, including Benton, Calhoun, and Walker, in the negative. The Whig party also voted against the recognition of the independence of Texas, on the 13th of February, 1837, and on the 1st and 2d of March, following. On the latter day, the motion was to reconsider the vote of recognition passed on the preceding. Upon this, the Senate were equally divided; and if the Vice President had been as ready to interpose his casting vote against this horrible Texas conspiracy, as against the liberty of the press, we should have been saved from the disgrace of a measure which experience has shown to have been unjustifiable in every view.

But while these things were transpiring in the Senate, one of the most remarkable and well-sustained parliamentary contests that can be found on record, was going on in the House of Representatives. During three years, a system of suppressing petitions, motions, and calls on the Executive for information relating directly or indirectly to Texas, had been in practice. The remonstrances of four Northern Whig Legislatures, viz: those of Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Ohio, together with the petitions and remonstrances of more than a hundred thousand citizens, against Annexation, had been laid on the table without reading, printing, or debate. Darkness as deep as the dungeons of the Inquisition, enveloped Congress and the nation,—and while the savage yell of war burst upon Mexico from our Presidential mansion, and was echoed by convenient committees of both Houses, nothing was allowed to be drawn from the Executive, or said on the floor, or printed, which could throw any light on the real cause of the proposed war. In this deplorable and perilous state of our public concerns, a ray of light from the South itself penetrated the heavy overhanging gloom. It was a light which, like that of hell, made "darkness visible." The Legislatures of Mississippi, Alabama, Tennessee, and South Carolina, had passed resolutions in favor of Annexation, and directed them to be laid before both Houses of Congress. They were presented, but were laid on the table like the rest, under a rule which, like Phalaris' bull, was now found as fatal to the inventor, as to his victims. This unforeseen consequence operated like an electric stroke upon the slaveholding portion of the House. The idea of suppressing the voice of sovereign States began to appear shocking and intolerable to gentlemen of the "State Rights" and "Strict Construction" school.

"This even handed justice
Commends the ingredients of our poisoned chalice
To our own lips."

Never was this saying of nature's great interpreter more curiously verified. The Southern members now demanded the reference of their resolutions, and the result was that those of Massachusetts and other free States, together with all the petitions and remonstrances against Annexation, having got into respectable company, were permitted under its wing to pass into the presence of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. That Committee, however, did not, if their own statement is true, examine one of them, but reported "that they be discharged from the *further* consideration of them, and that they be laid on the table." Mr. *Waddy Thompson* moved to recommit, with instructions "to report a joint resolution directing the President to take the proper steps for the Annexation of Texas to the United States."

To this, Mr. Adams moved an amendment, declaring that there was no power under the Constitution to annex a foreign State; and that any act of Congress, or Treaty attempting to annex Texas to the United States, would be null and void, and ought to be resisted and annulled by the people. And now Mr. Adams had the floor, and never was floor better occupied than was this, by him, during "the morning hour" from the 16th of June to the 7th of July. He laid bare the awful and tremendous slave-trading, and land speculating conspiracy. He has won ample and immortal honors in overthrowing, in 1837 and 1842, formidable combinations, to expel him from the House or degrade him in it; but the historian will probably dwell with most enthusiasm upon his timely and masterly exposure of the Texas conspiracy. Then was the real battle unconsciously fought. It is not too much to say that if an exposure of the plot had not then been made, it would have succeeded now. On all these occasions Mr. Adams was backed by the body of the Whig party. So was Mr. Giddings when he dared to question the principles propounded by Calhoun and acted upon by the Executive, in the case of the Creole. Without this support, those honest and intrepid servants of the people would, in all probability, have been overpowered, and ambition, avarice and fraud—shrouded in impenetrable mystery—would have completed the work they had prosperously begun. Just before this Dr. Channing had addressed his letter to Mr. Clay on the subject of Annexation; and I well remember what confidence and satisfaction were diffused throughout the Anti-Slavery ranks by the reported reply of Mr. Clay, viz: that Dr. Channing need be under no apprehension that Texas would be annexed. The relief which many an anxious bosom experienced from that declaration is still recollected by Abolitionists; and that recollection speaks trumpet-tongued of the high and well known trustiness and honor of Henry Clay.

I hope you will weigh well the votes I have stated and the facts to which I have referred; and that you will carry the investigation still farther, for there is plenty of room. Hundreds of votes, given by the respective parties in Congress and in State legislatures, affecting deeply the success of our sacred cause, and serving in their time as steps by which we mounted towards our present secure eminence, are now indistinctly remembered or entirely forgotten. The few I have cited are enough to show the intrinsic character and natural bias of the parties. When they were given and placed upon record, there was not much for a politician to hope or fear from Abolitionists. Men felt free, and rather more than free to act towards us just as they felt. It was deemed a merit to treat us with contumely, and political capital could be thus made.

I see, therefore, in these votes proof that the Whig party are possessed of humanity, independence, considerateness habitual reverence for natural and Constitutional rights, for justice, and the free working of the human soul. They cannot be driven by Executive power or popular frenzy, nor seduced by the plaudits of the many, nor the blandishments of the few, to do essential wrong to their country, their constituents, or to nations. The misfortune of their opponents is to have no character except what circumstances, temptation, and opportunity may impress upon them for the time. I should feel that nothing valuable which they could assail with applause, profit, and impunity, would be any where safe. Constitutional barriers have been no more heeded by them than twigs in the way of the wild boar. They take their name from *dennis* as the Jesuits did from *Jesus*, and they hold (if to anything) to the fundamental maxim of that once formidable society, "the end sanctifies the means." They have defined their position thus: "All's fair in politics." "The spoils to the victors." These are the alpha and omega of their political ethics and their political economy. One of themselves to whom *they* have always given a high character for honesty and sagacity, uttered the most memorable of his *memorabilia*, when he said that "their only cement was the cohesive power of public plunder."

[*To be concluded.*]

* The following was the vote on the passage of the bill to be engrossed. Whigs, Italics.

YEAS.—Black, Brown, Buchanan, Calhoun, Cuthbert, *Goldsborough*, Grundy, King, Ala. King, Ga. Moore, Nicholas, *Preston*, Rives, Robinson, Tallmadge, Walker, White, Wright.

NAYS.—Benton, *Clay*, *Davis*, Ewing, Ill. *Ewing*, Ohio, Hendricks, Hubbard, *Kent*, Niles, Morris, *Prentiss*, Ruggles, Shepley, *Southard*, *Swift*, *Tomlinson*, Wall, *Webster*.

On the final question, Mr. Goldsborough returned to his Whig friends, and voted against the bill.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE ADAMS RESOLUTIONS.

(Made at the Annual Meeting, but its publication postponed by agreement.)

The undersigned, one of the committee to whom was referred the question of the correctness of the statements in reference to John Quincy Adams, contained in the resolution presented at the meeting in December, last, respectfully reports that he has not found any reason to doubt the substantial correctness of all those charges.

And furthermore, that since the presentation of those resolutions, the subsequent conduct of Mr. Adams has tended to strengthen the views taken in them, in reference to his conduct and character. Since that period, he has, in opposition to the spirit of some of his previous professions, declared publicly, in Congress, that his views were widely variant from all the Anti-Slavery Societies with which he was acquainted, and that he believed that those societies did more harm than good to the cause of Emancipation:—thus repeating and giving countenance to the most absurd of the pretences by which our opponents have sought to destroy our strength and influence.

Moreover, he has on one or more occasions asserted that Congress had no power to emancipate a slave, anywhere; and on another occasion, the contradictory position, that the Constitution of the United States did not recognize the right of property in man.

And having refused to do anything in support of the prayer of the great Latimer petition, and having in conjunction with his son, C. F. Adams, turned Abolitionists over to the feeble, inefficient, and impracticable substitute of first abolishing the slave representation, instead of abolishing the support given by the National Government to Slavery itself, and being taken at his word by the Massachusetts Legislature, and having the subject which he professed to have so much at heart referred to a Committee of which he was himself chairman, he not only reported against any present action upon it, but also took pains to present, in a prominent light, the doctrine of our opponents, that the two races cannot live in safety, with equal rights, in the same country, and likewise suggested as admissible, the provision, that after Slavery should be abolished by a remote and gradual process, the emancipated should not enjoy the political rights which belong to the rest of the people.

THOMAS EARLE.

We assent to the general view of the above report, but express no opinion on its specifications, (not having examined them, all,) save only we are satisfied of the truth of so many of them as justify its conclusions touching the position of J. Q. Adams, in relation to the Anti-Slavery cause.

C. C. BURLEIGH.
L. M. McKIM.

☞ The report of a minority of the above mentioned Committee, viz: R. Purvis, and D. L. Child, will appear in a subsequent number of the Standard.

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, AUGUST 29, 1844.

Take Notice.—There is a paper published in this city, called the New-York Standard, and letters and papers intended for us, often get miscarried to that office. Our friends and correspondents will please be sure and direct to us, as the *Anti-Slavery* Standard.

WHAT IS YOUR PLAN?

It has ever been a marvel to multitudes, how the Abolitionists propose to bring about the liberation of the American slaves. Their course has seemed to many strange and wild, undirected by the rules of ordinary prudence, and rather marked by passionate impulse, than by a wise forecast. How it is possible that so monstrous an evil as Slavery can be destroyed by such insignificant weapons, and such novel tactics, used by hands so reckless, and so unknown to fame, has from the beginning excited the solemn wonder of many who are wise in their own eyes, and in those of the world. The method of the Abolitionists has been a stumbling-block, and a rock of offence in the eyes of the grave and sagacious men who can see nothing but folly and madness in whatever they do not themselves direct and control. But the Abolitionists have had their faith in their method strengthened by testimony the most pregnant and the most irrefragible. Though grave theologians and philosophers could not divine what they were about, the ever vigilant spirit of Slavery discerned at once the sufficiency of their measures to their end, and it howled and raged at the prospect of being tormented before its time. The politicians and the priests of the South, and their political, sectarian, and commercial partisans at the North, knew by an unerring instinct, that Anti-Slavery was in earnest, and moreover was proceeding to its purpose by the most direct and certain way. The outery of alarmed Slavery in the South, and the answering reply of fanatic Pro-Slavery at the North,—the demands of the Slaveholders for legislative protection against the Abolitionists, the price set upon the head of Garrison, the mobs, conflagrations, and lynchings over the whole land—contained assurance enough to the Abolitionists that their philosophy was the true one. When they heard the evil spirit blaspheme, saw him rend his victim, and seem fiercely resolved to have, if not victory, at least revenge, they reasonably concluded that the magic words they had uttered were indeed the potent exorcism which the fiend must needs at last obey.

But the question still often recurs, what is your plan? What is the necessary connection between your means and your end? How is it that the world is to be moved by machinery such as the wisest engineers reject and contemn? Especially, since the American Anti-Slavery Society has declared that in its opinion a consistent Abolitionist cannot take office, nor even vote, under the Constitution of the United States, have its ways seemed to the many to be past finding out. Men in this country have been so brought up to believe that nothing can be accomplished except by the authentic methods of political party and religious sect, that they cannot understand how any sane mind can discern any other way to any end. Their eyes have been so long directed on the machinery and visible apparatus of Government, that they cannot discern the subtle spirit which is its motive principle. Their eye is so filled with the throne that it fails to perceive the power behind the throne, greater and mightier than the throne itself. They do not know that to be without a plan is the true genius and glory of the Anti-Slavery enterprise. The mission of that movement is to preach eternal truths, and to bear an everlasting testimony against the giant falsehoods which bewitch and enslave the land. It is no part of its business to map out its minutest course in all time to come,—to furnish a model for all the machinery that will ever be set in motion by the principle it is evolving. The plan and the machinery will be easily developed and provided, as soon as the principle is sufficiently aroused in men's hearts to demand the relief of action.

What is the course which the Abolitionists have pursued from the beginning unto this day? How have they addressed themselves to their mighty work? They perceived the cruel and deadly nature of Slavery—its paralyzing effects on the liberties and the religion of the country, its wide field of wrongs, including all the inhabitants of the land, the free as well as the bond,—and they felt impelled to do what their hands found to do, for its extirpation. They were not deterred by finding themselves almost alone facing a furious and innumerable host of enemies. They felt that the Right was on their side, and they went forward in the calm certainty of a final victory. They began, and as far as they have remained faithful, they continue to perform their mission by doing "the duty that lieth nearest to them." They soon discovered that Slavery is not a thing a thousand miles removed, but that it is intertwined with all the political, religious, social, and commercial relations of the country, that it is an evil besetting the daily paths of all men, and defiling their firesides and their altars. In obedience to the highest philosophy, though perhaps not knowing it to be such, they proceeded to discharge their own personal duties in this regard,—to bear an emphatic and uncompromising testimony against Slavery, and to free their own souls from all participation in its blood-guiltiness. They laid no far-reaching plans, and they took no counsel of flesh and blood; they sought for no assistance from the world's wisdom, but they obeyed that better wisdom which told them that to do righteousness is the highest policy, and that to pursue a straightforward course would bring them soonest to the desired goal. Their question was not so much, how shall we abolish Slavery? as, how shall we best discharge our duty? They saw that it was impossible to forsee all the various windings of hunted Slavery, and to provide for their discomfiture; but they felt that if they followed up the chase with a stout heart, and a resolute spirit, they should be sure at last to be in at the death. They felt as Nelson said at Trafalgar, "That he could not be far wrong, who brought his ship alongside of the enemy." Accordingly, as fast as their anointed eyes discerned that institution after institution, which their souls had loved, were but the bulwarks and buttresses of Slavery, they denounced them as such, and refused any longer to man their walls. And when they perceived that the Constitutional Temple which their fathers had erected for Liberty to dwell in, had been made a den of thieves, and turned into the citadel of Slavery, they shook off the dust of their feet against it, and refused to take any further

part in its accursed ritual,—its abominable idol-service. They were told that they would, by this step, retard the abolition of Slavery. Had they believed this to be true, (which they were very far from doing,) it would not have altered their course. For they were men before they were Abolitionists, and they could not consent to take a lie upon their lips, or to defile their souls by what seemed to them mortal sin, to strike off every fetter in the land. Their first duty was to God and to themselves: their next to their enslaved countrymen. They did not believe that these duties could conflict with each other, or that any true benefit could be done to others by the infliction of enduring injury upon their own souls.

It is strange that the history of the Anti-Slavery cause should not convince those who have eyes to see, that this philosophy is that of reason and common sense. From the very first utterance of the formula, startling the guilty land, of *Immediate Emancipation*, the cry has been "your measures are only calculated to retard the cause you have at heart." And yet how signally have all these prophetic bodings been disappointed! Every advance which the Abolitionists have made, though always greeted with these words of ill omen, has ever strengthened and advanced their positions. When they perceived it to be their duty to withdraw their support and countenance from all pro-slavery churches, they were told that they were losing their influence forever, and that it was their duty to remain in the church, and labor for its reformation. But they obeyed their conscientious convictions, and far from finding their influence over the church diminished, they find that it was never so great. There was never a time when the Abolitionists exerted such a sway over the religious parties of the country as they have since they came out and were separated from them. There is not an individual abolitionist, however influential he may have been in his days of church-membership, whose influence over the body he repudiated has not been felt as it never was before. For their Christian character is the breath of their nostrils, and when their Christian character is denied, and heinous sins laid to their charge, a blow is aimed at their very life of life. They must needs do something to ward off the blow or they die. When the solemn denunciation of Channing is applied to them, which has since become part and parcel of the Anti-Slavery vocabulary, and they are are described on account of their sins, as "not a Church of Christ, but a Synagogue of Satan," their very existence depends on their doing something to contradict the charge. This is the secret of the demonstrations in the great sects at their late triennial assemblies, of the Anti-Slavery resolutions which have been passed by the most truculently pro-slavery churches, of the support given by many ministers and church members to the Third Party. All these things are proofs of the influence which the Anti-Slavery movement is exercising over the minds and consciences of the people, and in consequence of these very acts of withdrawal and renunciation. The results as far as they are seen, to be sure, do not amount to much, being designed chiefly to protect the Church against the assaults of Anti-Slavery; but they show that there is a chord of feeling touched that cannot be silenced, that there is a fountain of humanity opened in the community that cannot be sealed; and that all the leaders can do is to prevent its healing waters from swelling up so fast as to endanger their own comfort or safety.

As with the religious, so with the political parties.—The men who have conscientiously renounced their fellowship because of their betrayal of Liberty, whom they all profess to serve, exert a far more powerful influence on the parties they have left than they would have done had they remained in their ranks. Their very presence is a rebuke to them, and they feel impelled to do what they can, without sacrificing their selfish ends to disprove this testimony thus uplifted against them. Men do not lose all their humanity when they join a political party. Profligate as the leaders of all parties usually are, the rank and file are in the main well-meaning and well-disposed people, who are desirous of doing right. It is through the hearts and consciences of these people that Anti-Slavery affects, and will continue more and more to affect the policy of the nation. The leaders are obliged to consult what they regard as the weak and womanish prejudices of the led, and to yield to them as far as they safely may, as the price of their leadership. The great change which has come over the face of public affairs in the free States within a few years past, is scarcely at all owing to action within the parties that have done the work, but to action brought to bear upon them by men standing aside from them. Had the public mind been in the state in which it was ten years ago, would the rejection of Texas have been one of the watchwords of one of the great parties? No one conversant with the history of those years can believe it. Texas would have been admitted almost by acclamation, had it not been for the labors of the hated Abolitionists, in exciting the public mind on the subject of Slavery. And so of all the many signs of progress which have been recorded in Statehouse and Capitol. The Abolitionist who stands aside from the Government of the United States, and refuses to act under it, either in person or by proxy, because its power can only be obtained by an oath to perform acts hateful to God and all good men, and designed to protect and perpetuate Slavery, does not renounce, but multiply his political influence. The vote which a man casts into the ballot-box, is but a very insignificant emblem of his political power. The influence which goes out from every man, whether for good or evil, can be but very imperfectly measured by the standard of a ballot. What he seems to lose by the withdrawal of his single vote, is gained a hundred fold in the increased force which is given to his testimony of the lips and of the life by that disinterested act. Men are never much influenced by the professed opinions of others. But actions are things that cannot be gainsaid nor resisted. Such an act, strange as it may at first appear to them, cannot but exert a deep and wide-spread influence on all within its sphere, and actually affect political results to an extent compared with which the vote lost, is as the drop in the bucket.

We believe that this is the true Anti-Slavery policy that is destined to overthrow Slavery. All the details of its operation, we neither know, nor care to know. We only know that we are following the dictates of plain, practical, common sense, in refusing to commit what we see to be a crime, in order to extirpate another crime. We know that we will still refuse to swear to deliver up fugitive slaves, and to put down a Southern Revolution, even though we may be told that we may exonerate ourselves from the guilt by intending to forswear ourselves at the time of taking the oath. We will not consent to obtain power by false pretences, even for the purpose of abolishing Slavery. We rather choose to imitate the example of the Catholics and Dissenters of England, during the many years of their disabilities; and, refusing to take the oaths which would purchase political favor, stand aside from the machine of State, and demand a redress of our grievances. Had the morality which has been preached on this subject in this country, prevailed in great Britain, the Catholic and the Dissenter might long ago have possessed themselves of their civil privileges, by simply taking the oaths with the reserved intention of construing them as they pleased, and breaking just as much of them as they thought wrong. Perhaps the ethical example of these Englishmen may not be of much weight in this land of Slavery, Lynch-law, and Repudiation, but we may at least derive encouragement from their success. They have shown us how omnipotent is the force of a moral agitation without the walls of Parliament to control the action within them. In this country, Public Opinion is the acknowledged sovereign. This, Anti-Slavery will continue to mould as it has done in times past; and just as fast as it is changed, will the institutions, which are its outward manifestations, change likewise. We believe our present position is by far the most favorable for influencing public opinion than any we have yet occupied. We shall go on doing our work in the full faith that it is the true and effectual way. How it will accomplish its end,—whether by the expurgation of the Constitution, or by the territorial disunion of the States,—we cannot tell. We are only sure that it will eventually, and sooner than any other method, abolish Slavery. At any rate, we shall have discharged our own duty to the best of our knowledge, and shall enjoy the consciousness that we have not consented, through an imaginary expediency, to hold the chain with which the Constitution seeks to bind the slave forever to his fate.—Q.

WHIG ANTI-SLAVERY.

It is no less hard now to serve God and the devil at the same time than it was eighteen centuries ago, and we have high authority for its impossibility then. Its impossibility at any time is one of those important and plain truths which men recognize without difficulty in relation to their fellows, but can never see when applied to themselves. One's devil is very apt to be another's God, and one's God is very commonly a real and quite positive devil.

The Whig party are struggling very painfully to find a new way to do this old impossible thing. They would be very glad to do God service by opposing Slavery, if they did not know by so doing in earnestness and truth, they forfeit at once their own miserable political life. Or rather, to be strictly just to the whole party, this is the case only with individuals, while the great mass are in fact, as entirely indifferent to the existence of a grand system of wrong here at their own doors, as if it were in Timbuctoo. As a party, to be sure they are making a show of Anti-Slavery zeal, but it is all "make believe," for they are seeking, after all, their own political advancement for none other than selfish purposes; chiefly that a high tariff of duties may be imposed on Calicoes, Long Cloths and such like goods, manufactured in Lowell, and sold in Pearl street. If they think of the slave at all, it is in connection with negro blankets.

Were a stranger to the real state of things to read their political sheets, and listen to their mass convention, and caucus's, speeches, he would no doubt believe that some tremendous revolution was at hand, and that this "universal Whig party" was to sweep utterly at one fell swoop—the election of Clay—the very last vestige of Slavery from the face of the earth. But one who has lived a year in the country, and been observant of the course of events, and the present position of parties could hardly fail—I should think, did I not know that old men, and wise men who have lived here all their lives do fail—to see that the present position of the Whig party is entirely accidental, and that it is not one whit more to be trusted in regard to the great subject of Slavery than its opponent, and even on the comparatively very minor question of Annexation is not so honest, and therefore more to be feared than John Tyler himself.

It is amusing and instructive to see their great orators playing Anti-Slavery. An Anti-Slavery lecturer might envy them the indignant eloquence with which they denounce the cruel system, and deprecate its being extended over another foot of God's earth, or their being any action by this people whereby it shall be for one moment prolonged where it already exists. Their objections to the Annexation of Texas are solely on this ground. They cannot bear that a new and so wide a field of oppression for their unfortunate brethren of the colored race should be opened in the far Southwest. They might exclaim with the poet:

> "Oh! that my eyes were fountains, and my head were waters—
> Then would I give the mighty flood release,
> And weep a deluge for the human race."

That immaculate and distinguished philanthropist, Daniel Webster, said in the late Springfield Convention: "The *great fundamental everlasting objection* to the Annexation of Texas, is, that it is a scheme for the extension of the Slavery of the African race!" R. C. Winthrop said on the same occasion, "I will enter into no new partnership—I will join no association for the extension of Slavery. And is not this the sentiment of Massachusetts?" And the question was answered by general cries of "yes!" "yes!" from the assembled multitude. More recently, last week only, Mr. Choate gave utterance to similar sentiments in a speech before a Clay Club in Boston. But it is well to note also that these same gentlemen are very careful to say certain other things concerning Slavery *as it is*, which their allegiance to their Southern allies demands of them, at the same time that they enter their indignant protests against the possible contingency of Slavery *as it may be*. Said Mr. Winthrop:

"Gentlemen, on this point I desire not to be misunderstood. With all the *obligations of the Constitution as it stands, I am ready to comply.* I may be induced, under some circumstances, to vote for this or for that amendment to the Constitution, but I say frankly, *that I have no hope of any amendment for the better being made in that instrument. To the Constitution as it is—to the Union as it is—I am ready to commit myself.*"

Mr. Webster went even further. He could not mention the subject without referring to the compact, which an "October sun" looked upon, between himself and the South. He said:

"Gentlemen, so far as regards Slavery in this country, I agree entirely with what has already been said to you, and with the motto on one of your banners, to which allusion has been made. I say to Slavery, under the Constitution, "*thus far and no farther.*"

And a moment after, unwilling to let the occasion pass, or fearing that his sincerity might be doubted if he did—for he once uttered some very treasonable sentiments on Plymouth rock, and his masters have a long memory, as Edward Everett can testify in regard to a youthful indiscretion of his own—unwilling to let the occasion pass without a sly thurst at the Abolitionists, at which a school-boy, in these days, would blush, he continues presently:

"And there have been instances, among the present slaveholding States, where emancipation was formerly much nearer at hand than it seems to be now. I well know that, about fifteen years ago, public opinion on this point, in various parts of Maryland and Kentucky, was greatly in advance of its present state. *Now, gentlemen, as the Constituteon left this matter of Slavery, I am content it shall stand.* (Great applause.) I can see no benefit to either party in this question in breaking up the Constitution. (Renewed approbation.) And I advise the South not to risk that breaking up by the attempt to force more slavery into the Constitution, with the same sincerity with which I would advise the North against the *foolish attempt* to force out what is already in."

Who will dare doubt now that we have "put back Emancipation?" Mr. Choate, in the speech just referred to, thus renews his oath of allegiance also:

"While, therefore, I feel it to be *my duty distinctly to say, that I would leave to the masters of slaves every guaranty of the Constitution and the Union—the Constitution as it is—the Union as it is—without which there is no security for you or for them—no, not for a day*; I still controvert the power, I deny the morality, I tremble for the consequence, of annexing an acre of new territory *for the mere purpose* of diffusing this great evil, this great curse, over a wider surface of American earth."

Now what can be plainer than all this, and what man in his senses, and with his ears open to such declarations as these, and the "applause" and "approbation" with which they are received, can pretend that there is the least possible atom of Anti-Slavery in the Whig party? True, they go against the admission of Texas, but only because the majority of the Democrats are in favor of it, and it is a very convenient party question forboth; and the sincerity of one is just as unquestionable and no more so than of the other, for so far as the ostensible issue is concerned—the extension of Slavery—they neither of them really have any concern about it. True, their candidate, Mr. Clay, has declared himself opposed to Annexation, but he has also declared that he has no "personal objections" to it, and his pledge is just as much a pledge to annex under certain contingences, as it is a pledge not to under certain others. He will not hesitate, if need be, to make another compromise, and as in the case of Missouri, give to the South all she demands, in fact, while the cheated North shall be wheedled into the belief that she has not been wronged, or bullied into silence, if she dares to grumble. Texas then, if she be kept out of the Union at all, will be by the public sentiment of the nation, and that public sentiment will be just as effectual let which party will be in power, for neither, let the present acts or pledges of their candidates be what they may, will dare oppose it. And indeed the opposition of a portion of the Democratic party, against an avowed measure of that party as a whole, is more to be respected and depended upon, than the opposition of the Whigs as a mere party manœuvre.

But supposing the Whigs to be sincere in their opposition to Annexation, and to be actuated by no other than the motive they assign—namely, a horror for the extension of Slavery; and granting that if Texas should be annexed, Slavery should be extended,—and supposing also, that that Territory, will not be annexed because of Whig efforts,—we have then proof that this party is only opposed, after all their noisy declamations, to Slavery in *expectation*—Slavery *that is to be*—Slavery that may by a possibility, exist hereafter—while for the actual Slavery now existing, they have no word of reprobation,—for the three millions now in bondage, they have no helping hand, no word of comfort, no intention of relief. Their leading orators are careful to assure the country that they mean to abide by the Constitution—that they mean to keep this bond to the very letter—that they will not break or mar the compact which obliges the North to be the watch-dog of the South—that they will not even go for any amendments, if any could be made, which should free us from our guilt—that the single "lordly slaveholder who drops his lazy ballot in the ballot-box," shall still outweigh in political power a whole township of those Hampden farmers, who throw up their hats in applause of the Anti-Slavery of Daniel Webster, and Rufus Choate,—that in short, Slavery shall, by their act and will, continue in thirteen States of this Union, protected and nourished under the broad ægis of the Constitution, which they will maintain inviolable and unchanged, till when, according to John Quincy Adams, the millenium take the spoiled out of the hands of the spoiler.

Such is Whig Anti-Slavery. Political expediency now, which may or may not be possible Anti-Slavery for a possible future. Political expediency now, which absolutely avows its determination in no wayto meddle with the despotism now actually existing, except to protect and nourish it, and present a mighty unbroken front to all who would assail it. The Whigs, no less than the Democrats, are the protectors of "Southern Institutions," and the South know very well on what they rely when they yield them their support.—G.

GEORGE BRADBURN'S LETTER.

This document will be found on the first page. It defines very accurately our friend's present position. He repudiates both the grand political parties, and give his hearty adhesion to the third, as the most efficient Anti-Slavery instrumentality now in existence. I cannot but believe him to be actuated by honorable motives, but regret most sincerely the step he has taken. As he has seen and acknowledged his error in supporting Harrison, in 1840, so too it is to be hoped, that he will ere long see as clearly that his position now is even more false. Then he was led to support the Whig party, believing that it, or the Democratic party, must come into power, and that as the power would be less adverse to Anti-Slavery measures, between the choice of evils it was the least. Such a course of reasoning is specious and captivating, but very false. Now he assumes the position which hasn't the excuse attached to it of old association, or apparent immediate benefit.

One who is a recent convert to Anti-Slavery, and who believes that he is bound to go to the polls, and therefore joins the Liberty Party, may be excused for his short-sightedness, at the same time that he is pitied for his ignorance. But George Bradburn is no new convert. He is perfectly aware of the origin of Third Party in Massachusetts, and thoroughly acquainted with its present character. That he should attach himself to it, excites, therefore, my surprise, more than any other feeling. He must know that its leading organ—and we judge a party by its leaders—the Emancipator, is as destitute of political honesty, as it is unscrupulous in its party tactics—as apparently wanting in all Anti-Slavery principle, as it is evidently ignorant that all falsehood is immoral. He must know that the most bitter opponents of the Anti-Slavery cause upon all the principles which he has for years held to be true and all-essential, are to be found among Third Party people. He is not ignorant that it is the creature of a knavish sectarianism, and made up, to a great extent, of people who will accept a man as their spiritual guide, and teacher, whom they will not vote for as town constable, or pound-master—and this, not because they love the slave more, but because they hate wrong less, when found within the pale of their own Church-altar. They are only anxious to make a political party, whose final success they neither wish, nor hope for, the safety-valve of earnest Anti-Slavery zeal in others, who might, but for this, be led to look at their Church relations, and discover that the great support after all, of Slavery, is in the moral and religious delinquencies of the people. And does he not know that another class who go to make up the Third Party in Massachusetts, are the sheerest political demagogues, and broken down politicians? While one great party,—the Whig—has made the non-annexation of Texas, on Anti-Slavery grounds, the rallying cry in their partisan warfare, and a portion of the other party—the Democratic—and I believe still more sincerely—are protesting, and using all their most powerful influence against the same measure, of annexation, the organ of Third Party comes out in favor of admitting Texas to the Union. And this claims to be the great Anti-Slavery instrumentality of the country! To join the Whigs or the Democrats may be only weak; to join the Liberty Party, at least in Massachusetts, can hardly be less than wicked in any one not just born in Anti-Slavery;—though I believe George Bradburn to be unaccountably honest in this matter, for I know he is not weak. But he is—like a very few others in the same predicament—in an entirely false position, as he is neither a hypocrite, nor a fool.

The time may come when he will see his error, though it will be hard to recede from a step which I cannot but believe he has descended to with very great reluctance. But calmer and longer reflection, I trust, will convince him that he need not have left his old friends, because of their expression of opinion on a line of duty, of confessedly the utmost importance, and by which, neither he nor any one else was proscribed or abandoned,—and will convince him also, that the very position of which he complains, is the only true and consistent one which an Abolitionist can maintain.

"For say what you will, and reason the matter never so ingeniously, and you still fail of convincing the great mass of men and women, that the individual who preaches abolitionism," and supports a pro-slavery government, "is at all more consistent than the one who preaches temperance, and supports a tippling shop." For his own sake then, more than, for the cause's, or ours, do I regret that our friend should have taken a step so unworthy of his knowledge and his character.—Q

RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION FOR NEGROES.

The Rev. C. B. Jones, of Georgia, has started a new movement at the South for the religious instruction of slaves. The plan is, that the General Assembly's Board of Missions (old school) shall send, and sustain missionaries among them. The Presbytery of Georgia have adopted a memorial addressed to all the Presbyteries of the Southern States asking their co-operation. They had better engage Frederic Douglas to preach his sermon to them.

WINDHAM COUNTY.

The meeting of this Society, which was to have been held on the 13th of September, has been postponed to the 20th of September. This change, I understand, has been made for the purpose of insuring the attendance of speakers from abroad, whose other engagements would have prevented their being present on the 13th. The regular notice from the Secretary, will be in next week's paper. In the meantime, I have been requested to mention the change, and the friends in Windham county will please to heed it.

LEICESTER.

A friend in Leicester, Massachusetts, writes me that the 1st of August was observed in that place by a celebration of the Anti-Slavery Association. An address was delivered by the Rev. Samuel May,—whom Rogers would say is not Reverend, but only human, and humane—and prayer was offered, and some remarks made by the Rev. Dr. Nelson. They had singing, also, of course, and altogether, I should judge, they had a pleasant and profitable time. There are some very choice spirits in Leicester,—and a pleasant place is it for agents to visit, as I can testify.

JOHN CROSS.

It will be remembered that Mr. Cross has been recently imprisoned in Illinois, for obeying the injunction "to feed the hungry." The action against him, however, was not sustained, and he was liberated. By the following advertisement it will be seen that he has recommenced business on a larger scale:

LIBERTY LINE.

New Arrangement—Night and Day.

The improved, and splendid locomotives, Clarkson and Lundy, with their trains fitted up in the best style of accommodation for passengers, will run their regular trips during the present season, between the borders of the Patriarchal Dominion, and Libertyville, Upper Canada. Gentlemen and Ladies, who may wish to improve their health or circumstances, by a northern tour, are respectfully invited to give us their patronage.

SEATS FREE, *irrespective of color.*

Necessary Clothing furnished gratuitously to such as have "*fallen among thieves.*"

Hide the outcasts—let the oppressed go free.—*Bible.*

☞ For seats, apply at any of the trap doors, or to the conductor of the train.

J. CROSS, *Proprietor.*

N. B. For the special benefit of Pro-Slavery Police Officers, an extra heavy wagon for Texas, will be furnished whenever it may be necessary, in which they will be forwarded as dead freight, to the Valley of Rascals, always at the risk of the owners.

☞ Extra Overcoats provided for such of them as are afflicted with protracted *Chilly phobia.*

JAMES HAUGHTON.

It will be a great satisfaction to the friends of the cause, to find that they have not forfeited the sympathy and respect of this highly esteemed Dublin coadjutor by their recent uncompromising adhesion to their principles. In a recent letter he speaks thus:

"I rejoice at every indication of success in your Anti-Slavery labors. Your noble declaration, 'No Union with Slaveholders,' meets my warm approval."

CINCINNATI HIGH SCHOOL.

I am informed by a letter from Cincinnati, that this institution,—which, it was stated some weeks since, had been recently opened under the direction of Hiram S. Gilmore,—is not designed exclusively for colored people. I am glad to hear this, and most cheerfully make the correction. *All* persons are admitted to the school without distinction of color. The only information I had respecting it before, was derived from the "Watchman of the Valley," as I very rarely see the Philanthropist.

CORRESPONDENTS

Will have patience, I hope. There are several communications on hand, all of which shall receive a place as soon as possible. The Report of the New England Convention has heretofore taken up much of the room usually assigned to communications; but as that is now finished, the paper will be less crowded. If the friends in New England will send their letters to 25 Cornhill, they will be forwarded to me every week. If there should be any special haste, however, the private mail companies are to be found almost everywhere.

"YOUNG ENGLAND," as that party in England is called which is endeavoring to pour new wine into old bottles, is for the present succeeding, and conservatism is claiming the credit of it, and reform suffering the consequences.

JAMES HAUGHTON, we learn from the Dublin Monitor, is as warmly as ever engaged in the Temperance cause.

JOHN TYLER has withdrawn as a candidate for the Presidency, at the ensuing election.

THE BERKSHIRE JUBILEE, for which great preparations have been making for some time past, was held on the 22d and 23d instants, at Pittsfield. Many distinguished men and women were present, both natives and strangers to Berkshire, and the occasion is described as one of great interest.

MOBS.—There was a mob got up in an Anti-Slavery meeting a week or two since in Albany, and another more recently in West Haven. I suppose nobody would expect anything else where there is so much popular piety as there is in New Haven and its neighborhood. The New Haven Register says:

"We understand that an Abolition meeting was held in West Haven, on Tuesday evening, at the schoolhouse; and that during the evening, the building was pelted with stones, and the windows broken. This is a poor way to put down error of opinion, as well as being very wrong.

A REBUKE.—Our pro-slavery priests of the North would do well to lay to heart the following pointed rebuke, for their time-serving hypocrisy. It is the Rev. R. Fuller, a Baptist minister of South Carolina, who speaks:

"If I considered slavery a moral evil, I would not only at once save myself from it, but at any hazard, and in the face of any opposition, I would preach against it in every pulpit I could enter. And when every pulpit was shut, I would—as I fear God and love the souls of men—I would preach against it in the street, and in the market-place, and by the way-side."

E. D. HUDSON'S Post-Office address is Springfield, Massachusetts.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

Anti-Slavery Items.

An Important Trial.—We have been informed by counsel engaged in the highly important case of Charles T. Torrey, who is now in prison here, as our readers know, under the charge of aiding the escape of certain slaves, the property, severally, of Mr. Heckrote, of Baltimore, and Bushrod Taylor, of Winchester, Virginia, that an argument on the question of *habeas corpus*, will be made before the United States District Court, at a very early day, perhaps during next week. It seems the primary design of this step is to test the constitutionality of the delivery of a prisoner arrested in one State, to the authorities of another, on the ground assumed in the present case.

The fact that the services of General Fessenden, of Maine, Reverdy Johnston, of this city, and S. P. Andrews, of Boston, have been secured in aid of the original counsel, Francis Gallagher and Nathaniel Cox, in connection with the deep and determined feeling exhibited in numerous Abolition meetings throughout the free States, is sufficient to show that this case will be used to the best possible advantage for the Anti-Slavery interest—in other words, that the Abolitionists design to make Torrey's a *test* case. In this aspect, the result of the present judicial process, as well as the one that will be regularly had at the October term of our City Court, will naturally be awaited with deep interest in all sections of the Union; and we have therefore determined to present an impartial report of the proceedings in the case, let the final result be what it may.—*Baltimore Saturday Visitor.*

Death from Excitement.—A few days ago four negroes left the plantation of James Roth, of Caroline county, Maryland. Mr. Roth immediately pursued them, but had been unable to discover their whereabouts. On Sunday, David L. Moody, and George Sharpe, Constables of this city, overtook, near Naaman's Creek, four negroes, without any doubt the runaways; stopped them, and inquired of them for their papers. The negroes were separated, so that Mr. Moody had three of them, and Mr. Sharpe the other one. During the interview, Mr. Sharpe fell to the ground almost lifeless, whence he was immediately carried to the "Practical Farmer," a hotel near at hand, and expired immediately. He was examined, and no marks of violence were found on his person. A post mortem examination was held over his body by Coroner Moore. Verdict that he died of exertion and excitement, while laboring under disease of the heart.—*Philadelphia (U. S.) Gazette.*

Address on Slavery.—About two hundred persons—about one-third of whom were colored—assembled in the State House yard on Saturday evening, to hear an address delivered by Frederic Douglas, a man of color, formerly a slave. His address was interesting, and of an excellent style of composition, delivered in an easy, fluent manner. He preached a sermon supposed to be delivered at the South by a master to his slaves, in which the relative duties of master and slave were given in a bitter strain of sarcasm. The opinions expressed by him were, of course, not approved by all present, and at times some symptoms of disapprobation were apparent; but the applause of the majority drowned the dissenting voices. He was brought to rather an abrupt conclusion, by the preparations for closing the square, at about a quarter after 7 o'clock.—*Phil. Ledger of Monday.*

The St. Augustine News of the 13th instant, says:—"Six of the negro men, together with the pilot boat, Lafayette, libelled by P. J. Fontane and others, for salvage, were sold on Tuesday last, by the United States Marshal, agreeably to an order of Court. The negroes brought $2,300, and the pilot boat $610."

The Herald of the same date states:—"The United States revenue schooner, Vigilant arrived here on Saturday last from St. Marks, via Key West. The Vigilant brings a demand from the Governor of Louisiana, for the eight negroes who ran away from the Balize, and were wrecked on the Tortugas Reef. Six of these negroes were sold on Tuesday last, by the Marshal. Considerable interest is excited on the subject. Several novel questions are presented, as to the effect of the demand of the Governor of Louisiana, and the probabilities of indemnity to the purchaser."

Emancipated Slaves.—The Newbernian, N. C. of the 6th instant, says: "We learn that on Friday evening last, Messrs. Benjamin and Henry Mace, Executors of the late Joseph Physic of this county, left the port of Newbern for Philadelphia, with twenty-one Emancipated slaves under their charge. Mr. Physic died a few years since, and left these persons free, making arrangements for sending them from the State, in accordance with the laws of North Caroiina."

Black Code—Arson.—Alfred, slave of Mr. Loreilhe, was put upon his trial at New Orleans, 5th instant, before a jury of freeholders, six in number, agreeably to the provisions of the black code, for setting fire to the premises of his master in Royal street. He was found guilty, and seatenced to be imprisoned for life, and placed at the disposition of the Governor of the State. The usual compensation will be allowed Mr. Loreilhe for the loss of the slave's services.

From Florida.—We have received the St. Augustine *News* and Jacksonville *Tropical Plant* of the 10th instant. The *News* says: "Two negroes stole a boat and ran away from St. Louis settlement, on the 2d instant. As soon as it was discovered they had gone, a party of settlers started in pursuit, up the inland passage. On reaching New Smyrna, they discovered the brig *Casco* in sight, when they proceeded to her for the purpose of making inquiry relative to the negroes. To their surprise they found the negroes on board, whither they had retreated during a squall. The negroes were endeavoring to return to Brunswick, Georgia, and are now in confinement in this city."

An Experiment.—Bryant Cobb, of North Alabama, proposes to give up slave-labor, and substitute the labor of Germans. He invites them to settle about him, proposing to furnish farming implements and one year's provision, to industrious families, and let them farms on long leases.

Asylum for Colored Orphans.—The colored people of Cincinnati are making efforts to establish an Assylum in that city for colored Orphans. Several white ladies, distinguished for their philanthropy, have volunteered their assistance, and Mr. N. Longworth has generously appropriated a suitable building for the purpose for three years.

The N. O. Picayune of the 8th, notices a new invention for cutting cane stubble. It is conducted by one hand and drawn by two horses, and can perform more work, and do it better, than thirty hoes per day.

Slave by Nature.—The Kalamazoo Gazette reports the following as a speech, of a Whig orator in that vicinity:

"Mr. President; Within these veins courses the blood of two noble grandsires, both of whom watered the battle field of our country with their blood, fighting in the glorious cause of American liberty; yet, Mr. President, proud as I am of my birthright from such ancestry, I have often thought that I should be willing to change places with the meanest slave of Henry Clay, in order to be continually by the side of that great and good man."

Mr. Prichard, our consul at Tahiti, has come home in the Vindictive. It is said in the Rio papers, that he had been imprisoned, by order of the French authorities in that Island, for 21 days, and only obtained his liberty on condition of leaving the country. Qneen Pomare had taken refuge, it is further stated, on board the Baselisk sloop of war, where she remained wheh the last accounts came away. The treatment which he has received has been noticed in Parliament, and a good deal of ill feeling excited. The conduct of the French at Tahiti is represented in the most odious light.—*Wilmer's News Letter.*

Died.

In Boston, on Monday morning, August 19, at a quarter past ten o'clock, Lynde Walter, Esq. in the 77th year of his age.

In Nantucket, Daniel Jones, Jr. Esq. aged 30, a member of the class which graduated at Cambridge in 1836, and of the House of Representatives the last session.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

For the Standard—from Aug. 11th, to Aug. 24th, 1844.

Jonathan Gove, Penn, Jay county, Ia.	$1.00	
Dyer Hughes, Jr. Hampton, Ct.	2.00	
Alanda Smith, Richmond, Ia.	2.00	
Joseph Carpenter, New Rochelle, N. Y.	2.00	
Moses Pierce, Pleasantville, "	2.00	
Henry Chase, King's Ferry, "	2.00	
Isabella Woodward, Syracuse, "	3.00	
Jane Turner, Bridgewater, "	1.00	
A. D. Wilson, New Richmond, Ohio,	1.00	
George M. Marchy, " "	1.00	
Henry F. Edes, Plymouth, Mass.	2.00	
Charles Patterson, Niagara Falls, N. Y.	2.00	
Durfee Herendeen, Macedon, "	2.00	
Edwin Fussell, Kimberton, Pa.	2.00	
William Norris, West Carlyle, Ohio,	4.00	
Rowland T. Reed, Richmond, Ia.	2.00	
G. Tuckerman, Richfield, N. Y.	50	
E. Barstow, " "	50	
Lucy F. Bartlett, Kingston, Mass.	2.00	
Benjamin Lincoln, Boston,	2.00	
Nathan Marble, Port Byron, Cayuga, N. Y.	5.00	
		—— 41.00
Donations.		
John Thomas, Kimberton, Chester co. Pa.	1.00	
Lewis Thomas, " " "	1.00	
Deborah Thomas, " " "	1.00	
Jane Thomas, " " "	1.00	
Hannah L. Thomas, " " "	1.00	
Margaret H. Thomas, " "	1.00	
Sarah H. Coates, Kimberton, " "	1.00	
Harriet Deville, " " "	1.00	
Isaac Price, " " "	1.00	
James W. Quinter, " " "	1.00	
Wm. C. Taber, New Bedford, Mass.	10.00	
Mrs. Nancy Babcock, Berlin, "	10.00	
Otis J. Hall, Windham, Me.	1.00	
Anti-Slavery Society, Concord, Mass.	2.00	
By C. L. Remond,—		
Bourne Spooner, Plymouth, Mass.	20.00	
Ansel Harlow, " "	10.00	
W. B. Spooner, " "	2.00	
Manuel A. Diaz, " "	5.00	
Nathaniel Wood, Jr. " "	2.00	
Caleb B. Bradford, " "	2.00	
Lemuel Stevens, " "	10.00	
Joseph Allen, " "	5.00	
Lemuel Morton, " "	2.00	
William Thomas, " "	5.00	
Branch Blackman, " "	1.00	
Mrs. Brigham, " "	1.00	
Friends, " "	7.00	
J. & E. Morton, " "	10.00	
Friends in Portland and Hallowell, Me.	15.00	
By Frederic Douglas,—		
Friends in Chelsea, Mass.	2.50	
" Lowell, "	5.00	
" Mendon, Ct.	2.50	
" Prospect, Ct.	7.50	
Wm. Bolles and others, New London, Ct.	14.25	
Leonard Tuttle, Prospect, "	17.50	
Jonathan Leonard, Mendon, "	22.50	
Friends in Portland, Me.	16.00	
		—— 217.75
Total amount received - -	$258.75	

FRANCIS JACKSON, Treasurer.

NOTICES.

CHESTER COUNTY CONVENTIONS.

Conventions will be held in the following places, in the order stated below, attended by the speakers whose names are annexed:

Hutchinson's Woods, near Wilson's Mill, New London, the 29th, at 2 o'clock P. M. C. C. Burleigh, James Fulton, jr.

Crosby's Woods, near Haysville, Upper Oxford, the 30th, at 2 o'clock, P. M. C. C. Burleigh, James Fulton jr.

Woods near Black Rock, Furnace county, the 31st, at 10 A. M. C. C. Burleigh.

Eastland, Lancaster county, September 1st, at 2 o'clock, P. M. C. C. Burleigh, James Fulton, jr.

Caln Meeting House, September 1st, at 2 o'clock, P. M. Jesse Evans, Edwin Coates, Edwin Fussell.

ANTI-SLAVERY PIC-NIC AND FAIR.

The meeting of the friends of Emancipation, which was proposed for the first of August, will take place on SATURDAY, September 14th. At which time we hope to meet in company with a numerous throng of Abolitionists, and do something for the oppressed millions of our countrymen. WILLIAM L. GARRISON, and EDMUND QUINCY, have signified their determination to be present, and other tried friends and advocates of the cause are expected. Arrangements have been made to procure the services of the Hutchinsons. We anticipate a good meeting, and cordially invite the friends in the neighboring towns to participate with us on this occasion.

Services will commence at 10 o'clock—place of meeting designated hereafter. Donations are solicited for the Fair and Refreshment table.

The Committee of Arrangements meet at the house of D. S. Godfrey, THURSDAY next, at 3 o'clock, P. M. A punctual attendance is requested.

TAKE NOTICE.

The Fair of the Providence Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society, will be held on the 4th of September, in Sabin's Building, Market street. All friends having articles in readiness, or preparation for the Fair, are requested to bear this in mind. Persons having eatables of a good and healthy kind, are reminded that the Provision Table needs their assistance.

The presence of Abolitionists, both in and out of the State, will be *especially agreeable.*

Amarancy Paine,
Caroline Ashley,
Elizabeth Brown,
Hannah B. Shove,
Mary Smith,
} Managers.

August 29, 1829.

TO THE ABOLITIONISTS OF EASTERN PENNSYLVANIA.

Dear friends and fellow laborers.—With hopeful hearts, we have commenced our preparations for our next annual fair, resolved that it shall be greatly superior to that of the last year. For the accomplishment of this purpose, we are dependent upon you. Will you not give us ample proof that we have not relied upon you in vain? You cannot need that we should offer you incentives to increased diligence and zeal in our common cause. The image of the suffering slave is vividly before your mental vision; and were you in any danger of forgetting the sad living picture, it would be frequently revived by some new odious manifestation of the slave power, or by the presence of the fugitive, crossing, in the haste of terror, your brighter path.

Nor need we present to you arguments in favor of this method of advancing our cause. You are aware that our fairs have been a source of great pecuniary profit, as the reports of the treasurer of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society show. The principal part of the profit derived from them have passed into the treasury of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, of which you are members. In asking your assistance, then, we are but asking you to aid our common cause, through the agencies which you have constituted. You have nobly responded to our calls, in other years. Have you not commenced our second decade with renewed ardor and increased self-sacrifice? Will you not evince it by immediately beginning, with us, preparations for the fair of 1844? Labor, each according to your ability or inclination, to let each do something. All marketable commodities, useful or ornamental, will be gratefully received. If our contributors will send, with their manufactures, a statement of the cost of the materials of each, the committee estimating the labor expended on them, will be careful to prevent any article from being sold at a price below its value. A very large part of the articles sold, yield a *fair profit.* If any of our friends in the country, will come and superintend the sale of their articles, they will be most welcome, and their aid truly valuable.

We are sorry to say that our poultry stall was not as well furnished as usual last year. Will not abolitionists who are preparing produce for their own tables or the market, remember, and give us a practical proof that they remember the physically and spiritually starved slave? Give to him, as God hath given to you, freely, abundantly.

We advise all who intend to work in this department, (and what abolitionist in Eastern Pennsylvania does not) so begin at once to

Poetry.

The following lines, by a lady of Philadelphia, were written for, and sung at, the Norristown meeting. They were dedicated to Frederic Douglas.

Air—"The day that we went Gypsying"

We met to-day, together, friends,
To talk of Freedom here,
And freely speak of human rights,
A theme to Freemen dear—
We met to canvass human wrongs,
To plead for truth, and right,
And raise the Anti-Slavery flag
To catch the noonday light.
We met to-day, together, friends,
To rouse in every mind
A feeling, that as Man, we owe
A duty to our kind.
A feeling, that as Man, etc.

And while the Slave with hands upraised,
Turns to yon Northern Star,
Our shoulders must propel the wheels
Of Freedom's lagging car.
We met to-day, together, friends,
To show no party zeal,
Our party claims each heart, and hand,
That strives for Freedom's weal.
And we would gather in our band
Each man, and woman, too,
With moral sense to *see the right*,
And *dare that right pursue*.
With moral, etc.

THE SOLEMN SONG OF A RIGHTEOUS HEARTE.

After the fashion of an early English Poet.

BY WILLIAM MOTHERWELL.

There is a mighty Noyse of Bells
Rushing from the turret free;
A solemn tale of truth it tells,
O'er Land and Sea,
How heartes be breaking fast, and then
Wax whole againe.

Poor fluttering Soule! why tremble soe,
To quitt Lyfe's fast decaying Tree;
Time wormes its core, and it must bowe
To Fate's decree;
Its last branch breakes, but Thou must soare,
For Evermore.

Noe more thy wing shal touch grosse Earth;
Far under shal its shadows flee.
And all its sounds of Woe or Mirth
Growe strange to thee.
Thou wilt not mingle in its noyse,
Nor court its Joies.

Fond One! why cling thus unto Life,
As if its gaudes were meet for thee;
Surely its Follie, Bloodshed, Stryfe,
Liked never thee?
This World grows madder each newe daie,
Vice bears such sway.

Couldst thou in Slavish artes excel,
And crawle upon the supple knee,—
Couldst thou each Woe-worn wretch repel,—
This Worldes for Thee.
Not in this Spheare man ownes a Brother:
Then seek another.

Couldst thou bewraie thy Birthright soe
As flatter Guilt's prosperitye,
And laude Oppressiounes iron blowe,—
This Worldes for Thee.
Sithence to this thou wilt not bend,
Life 's at an end.

Couldst thou spurn Vertue meanly clad,
As if't were spotted infamy,
And prayse as Good what is most Bad,—
This Worldes for Thee.
Sithence thou canst not will it soe,
Poor Flutterer goe!

If Head with Hearte could so accord,
In bond of perfyte Amitie,
That Falsehood raigned in Thoughte, Deed, Word,—
This Worldes for Thee.
But scorning guile, Truth-plighted one!
Thy race is run.

Couldst thou laughe loude, when grieved hearts weep,
And Fiendlyke probe their Agonye,
Rich harvest here thou soon wouldst reape,—
This Worldes for Thee:
But with the Weeper thou must weepe,
And sad watch keep.

Couldst thou smyle swete when Wrong hath wrung
The withers of the Poore but Prowde,
And by the rootes pluck out the tongue
That dare be lowde
In Righteous cause, whate'er may be,—
This Worldes for Thee.

This canst thou not! Then, fluttering thing,
Unstained in thy puritye,
Sweep towards heaven with tireless wing,—
Meet Home for Thee.
Feare not, the crashing of Lyfe's Tree,—
God's Love guides Thee.

And thus it is:—these solemn bells,
Swinging in the turret free,
And tolling forth theire sad farewells,
O'er Land and Sea,
Tell how Hearte's breake, full fast, and then
Growe whole againe.

LIFE.

Life is onward: use it
With a forward aim;
Toil is heavenly—choose it,
And its warfare claim.
Look not to another
To perform your will;
Let not your own brother
Keep your warm hand still.

Life is onward: never
Look upon the past;
It would hold you ever
In its clutches fast.
Now is your dominion,
Weave it as you please;
Bind not the soul's pinion
To a bed of ease.

Life is onward: try it,
Ere the day is lost;
It hath virtue—buy it,
At whatever cost!
If the world should offer
Every precious gem,
Look not at the scoffer,
Change it not for them.

Life is onward: heed it
In each varied dress;
Your own act can speed it
On to happiness.
His bright pinion o'er you
Time weaves not in vain,
If Hope chant before you
Her prophetic strain.

Life is onward: prize it
In sunshine and in storm;
Oh! do not despise it
In its humblest form.
Hope and Joy together,
Standing at the goal,
Through Life's darkest weather,
Beckon on the soul.

Miscellany.

From Graham's Magazine.

MURAD THE WISE.

BY JAMES K. PAULDING.

When the mighty Othman, one of the most illustrious of all the successors of Mahomet, swayed the sceptre of the Ottomites, there dwelt in the city of Broussa, the greatest in all Asia Minor, a person called Murad the Wise, who had established a great reputation by studying the Koran, devoting himself to the happiness of all true Mussulmans, and persecuting the Christian dogs without mercy.

Being rich, and childless, he devoted a great portion of his wealth to relieving the necessities of the poor, always excepting the Jews, the Christians, and the followers of Ali, for he was an orthodox believer, and never failed to inquire into a man's religious opinions, before administering to his distresses. Nay, he carried his benevolence so far as to include irrational animals, and created two extensive hospitals, one for cats, another for dogs, which were lodged and fed by thousands in these asylums, to the great annoyance of the neighborhood, which was nightly disturbed by their howling and caterwauling. The consequence was, these animals increased to such a degree under the patronage of Murad, that they became a great nuisance in the city, the dogs barking, howling, and thieving, during the day, and the cats mewing, screaming, and hissing by night in a most egregious and disreputable manner.

The city of Broussa is delightfully situated, at the foot of Mount Olympus, where, in the balmy days of Grecian mythology, Jupiter held his court, according to Homer, who was a native of Asia Minor, or of the neighboring Isle of Scios. But even gods have their day; the domes and minarets of the faithful have superceded the altars of Paganism, and Mahomet now reigns supreme where Jupiter once launched his thunderbolts. A thousand crystal springs gush forth from the sides of the mountain, forming the sources of little streams that murmur, and dash, and foam through its recesses, on their way to the city, where they diffuse through the streets a grateful, refreshing coolness, and supply the cleanly Mussulman with water for those frequent ablutions, which, while purifying his body, he imagines, renders it more worthy to approach the altar of Allah—the principal spring issues from a deep, shady glen, about half way up the mountain, and supplies a stream sufficient to turn a mill, if such a luxury were known among the Turks, and which is conducted to the city through a channel lined with marble, whence it spreads itself in all directions through lesser conduits. Three hundred stately mosques, whose domes and minarets ascend from groves of mulberry trees, adorn the city and its environs, and it is by the side of these cooling streams and fountains, that the indolent, luxurious Mussulman every day indulges in smoking his pipe, while he luxuriates in that delightful interregnum of the mind, between sleeping and waking, so dear to the Oriental epicure, so little known to the ever restless soul of the inhabitant of the West, where life is one never-ceasing, feverish struggle of body or mind, from the cradle to the grave.

Murad the Wise was accustomed to spend a portion of his time, seated cross-legged, smoking his long pipe by the side of the deep spring up the mountain, buried in contemplation. At such times, his thoughts would frequently revert to the nature and condition of man, so full of inequalities and contradictions apparently irreconcilable with the wisdom, justice, and mercy of Providence. "Mashalla!" would he say to himself, "why is it that so small a portion of mankind are rolling in wealth, and enjoying all the sweets of luxury, dignities, honor, and power, while the mighty mass of the human race may be said only to be preserved from starvation by perpetual labor and perpetual saving? Why is it that a few enjoy everything without toil, and the many so little, though they work from morning till night? Why are the mind and body of the slave equally subjected to the will of his master, while the master can do as he lists, and go whither he pleases? And why, O! Allah! is it, that when one is surfeited with all the delicacies that pamper the senses, thousands, yea millions, are suffering for lack of the common necessaries of life? Surely, surely the blessings of Providence are unequally distributed. Methinks, were I to create a world, I would order things otherwise, and secure to my fellow-creatures, with the exception of the Jews, the Christians, and the detestable followers of Ali—a more equal diffusion of happiness."

Saying, or rather thinking this, Murad the Wise fell into a state of profound abstraction, during which his mind was deeply occupied in the construction of a world in which the enjoyments of life should be equally distributed to all, and had almost completely adjusted its parts to his own satisfaction, when he was suddenly interrupted by the intrusion of an aged, yet majestic figure, with lustrous eyes, and a long white beard sweeping over his bosom, who came and sat down beside him. Murad felt at first somewhat indignant at this interruption, but, looking steadfastly in the face of the old man, he saw something there that at once repressed any expression of discontent. After a momentary silence, the stranger thus addressed him:

"Thou seemest engaged in deep contemplation. What art thou thinking of, Murad?"

"Murad!" exclaimed the other; "that is indeed my name, but how came it known to thee, whom I never saw before?"

"Is not Murad the Wise known to thousands, yea, tens of thousands whom he knows not himself?" answered the old man. "Is he not renowned for his beneficence? Is he not the benefactor of the poor, the assuager of misery, the redresser of wrongs, and the friend not only of the human race, but of the dumb beasts, who have none other but him? Who in all Broussa, nay, who in all Asia Minor, is ignorant of the name of Murad the Wise? But may I again ask what thou art thinking of so deeply, that I may share in the contemplations of wisdom?"

The heart of Murad was, unknown to himself, deeply infected with vanity and pride, and he rather sought their gratification in his charities, than that of a pure benevolence. The praises of the venerable old man were delightful to his ear, and, puffed up with vain conceit, he straightway unfolded to him the subject of his thoughts, forgetful that he was but a worm, impiously scanning the secret purposes of his Creator. As he proceeded with his plan of a world, designed to remedy the inequalities of mankind, and produce a universal diffusion of happiness, an almost imperceptible smile, not of scorn, but pity, flitted across the pale, seamed face of the stranger, who, at the conclusion of the detail, arose and disappeared, leaving Murad mortified and offended at his abrupt departure.

He had scarcely gone when a slave bearing a water-jar came and set it down, and began weeping and complaining in a doleful voice, accompanied by gestures of sorrow and despair. Murad approached him, and, in words of deep commiseration, asked the cause of his sorrows.

"Am I not a slave?" cried he, in tones of mingled grief and indignation. "Is not my body subjected to the absolute will of another, and my soul bound in chains? Am I not restricted in going and coming, in eating and drinking, in sleeping and waking, in doing and refraining, whatever may be my inclinations or my necessities? Alas! why did Allah give me a will of my own since it is never to be gratified?"

"To whom dost thou belong?" asked Murad.

"To the son of the Bashaw of Natolias."

"Be comforted. I will purchase thee of thy master, and thou shalt be free to go where thou wilt, and do according to thy pleasure."

The grateful slave fell at his feet and kissed them. Then he filled his jar with water, and tripped away rejoicing in the hope of soon being free. Murad remained on the spot, solacing himself with the contemplation of his own benevolence, and was more than ever pleased with his new world, in which he had entirely abolished Slavery. He was soon, however, interrupted by the approach of a youth, who came staggering with faltering steps, his face pale and emaciated, his eyes dim and sunken, and his whole appearance indicating a premature old age, brought on by disease or dissipation. Seating himself at the side of the deep fountain, apparently unconscious of all observation, he groaned aloud, wrung his hands, tore his beard, gnashed his teeth, and at length, starting up in the frenzy of despair, was on the point of casting himself into the spring, when Murad seized him suddenly around the waist and arrested his purpose.

"In the name of the Prophet, forbear!" cried Murad. "Remember that none but cowards seek or avoid the angel of death. Tell me what has caused thy despair, and perhaps I may alleviate, if I cannot remove it entirely."

The youth, on being released, turned suddenly round, and, after staring Murad wildly in the face, answered, in tones of bitter agony and desperation—"Ha! I know thee now. Thou art Murad the Wise, but my condition is past thy cure. I am the victim of my own stubborn will, or rather of destiny, for to restrain myself was beyond my power.—Thou knowest the Bashaw of Natolias? I am his only son. As such, I have from my childhood been permitted to do as I would, without any one daring to thwart me, or dispute my pleasures. I have been a tyrant over others, and the slave of my own passions; I have indulged in excesses until pleasure has ceased to please; in the bloom of youth I have become old and decrepit; I am sated, surfeited with enjoyment, and, where it not so, have worn out and destroyed all capacity for receiving pleasure from the gratification of the senses. My days are days of suffering, my nights are nights of bodily torment, aggravated by remorse, and blackened by despair. Oh, Allah! why was I fated to have my own will in everything, instead of being a slave to that of others? I might then have been happy." Saying this he broke furiously away, and, staggering down the declivity of the mountain, quickly disappeared.

"Unfortunate youth!" exclaimed Murad. "I can alleviate the miseries of yonder slave by setting him free, but I cannot restore the health of thy body, nor the repose of thy mind."

Presently after, there came towards the spring a figure, not dressed but disguised in rags. Here he drank a long, deep draught, after which he exclaimed, "Allah be praised! he giveth me plenty of water, though his creatures deny me bread."

"What aileth thee, my friend?" inquired Murad, in a gentle voice, as he approached him.

"Nothing," replied the poor skeleton, for such he seemed; "nothing but that I am starving and my family keeping me company. We have not tasted food for two days past, and I have summoned my remaining strength to come hither and bring them a draught of water, to lengthen their sufferings a little while longer. They are too weak to go forth and seek relief, and all I can do is to return and die with them."

"No," cried Murad, whose heart was touched with compassion. "No, thou shalt not die, thou, nor thy wife, nor thy children, until the angel of death shall smite both thee and them in the common course of nature. Take this purse, purchase food, and be comforted, for when it is gone I will give thee more."

The poor man snatched the purse from his hand, and, without staying to return thanks, departed with a speed which his almost fleshless body scarcely promised, for he was strengthened by joy that he could now administer comfort and relief to his starving family. So speedy was his flight, that he nearly overturned a fat, portly figure that was slowly puffing up the mountain, stopping ever and anon to rest himself and mutter maledictions on his limbs, more especially his great toe, which was carefully shrouded in a velvet slipper.

"What a strange distribution of happiness!" exclaimed Murad, on the departure of the starving beggar. "In my world such a case can never occur."

By this time the fat, portly man, had, with much ado, reached the fountain, where, having taken a cooling draught, at which he shuddered and made divers wry faces, he sat himself down, drew up his foot, and, placing it across the other knee, seemed to be soothing it with his hand, while he mingled groans and peevish exclamations together. The curiosity of Murad being awakened, he asked the stranger the cause of his complainings, and ere he could reply, presuming that, like the poor starving beggar, he was belike anhungered, began to comfort him with the promise of relief, which was all he could do at that time, seeing he had just given away his purse. "Thou shalt have wherewithal to eat and drink, my friend," said he, kindly.

"Don't talk to me about eating and drinking," exclaimed the portly man, in a great passion. "I have had too much of both already. Know, most obdurate and inquisitive stranger, that my father was a great merchant, who made as many voyages as Sinbad, and accumulated money enough to purchase the Paschalic of Allepa, where he made the people pay ten times as much as it cost him for the privilege of plundering. He left me all his riches, for he escaped the bowstring, as his destiny had doubtless decided, but I, being convinced that two such miracles could never happen in one family, imbibed a distaste for the pursuits of ambition, and determined to seek happiness by employing my wealth in the purchase of other gratifications. I became a glutton and an epicure, which, according to time immemorial—such is the lame and imperfect manner in which the human organs are constructed—impaired my digestion, affected my spirits, and finally destroyed my health.

"Finding that eating disagreed with me, I resolved to seek enjoyment in drinking, and, having procured a dispensation from the Mufti on the score of my health, I purchased a store of the rich wines of Shirez, Cyprus, and Candia, not forgetting those delicate juices on which the Christian dogs regale themselves in defiance of the law and the Prophet. I cannot comprehend how it was, but the wine, which at first ascended swiftly to my brains and produced a most happy and delightful exhilaration of spirit, ceased at length its genial influence, and, instead of ascending to the brain, seemed to descend into my limbs, until it finally settled in my great toe, where it produces such twinges as only the angels of darkness inflict on their victims. Besides, I am, as you see, swelled to an enormous size by dropsy, for it seems this pestiferous beverage turns to water at last. In short, I have a complication of disorders from which I never shall be free, and am the most wretched of men. I envy every beggar I meet, for there is no danger of his ever eating himself, and would willingly exchange situations with that half-starved skeleton who almost ran over me as I was puffing my way hither, and trod on this infernal torment of mine, for which may he be doomed to eat when he is not hungry, drink when he is not dry, be ridden by the night-hag, and his shadow always continue to grow bigger O, Mahomet! what a curse it is to have more money than we can enjoy, to eat and drink more than we want, and to labor under sufferings we are conscious of having brought on ourselves by our own excesses."

Here the portly man was arrested by a twinge which caused him first to cry out "Mashallah!" then to writhe, and lastly to swear most lustily. He called loudly for Achmet, and Hassan, and Selim, and Ali, who it seems were his slaves, and had followed at a distance in order to convey him home, he having walked up the mountain by the advice of his physician for exercise. They came in great haste, took him up in their arms, and bore him down the declivity of the mountain, while he cuffed their ears, pulled their beards, and knocked off their turbans, all which they bore with the greatest gravity and decorum.

He was succeeded by a stout, brawny fellow, in the dress of a porter, who came with two immense jars flung across his shoulders, such as are usually carried in Broussa by mules. Placing them on the ground with a gesture of impatience, he cried out, "What a miserable dog am I, to be condemned all day long to carry water for the people who sit still, doing nothing but smoke their long pipes, drink Sherbert and coffee, eat sweetmeats, and chew opium.—O! that I was only in the place of Mustapha Tocat, who is as rich as a Jew, and passes all the livelong day sitting cross-legged, enjoying the pleasure of seeing me and other miserable wretches slaving ourselves to death for the benefit of others. But here he comes, I marvel what has brought him so far from home. I must fill my jars or he will reproach me for a lazy varlet, for it seems he can't bear to see any one idle but himself." With these words the discontented porter took up his jars, and left the fountain at the same moment Mustapha Tocat arrived.

He seemed about the age of fifty, and though apparently hale and vigorous, approached with an air of languor and debility, while his countenance wore an expression of feebleness and care. He sighed deeply as he took his seat near the fountain, which he contemplated as if absorbed in painful reflections. Murad, who might have been called an amateur of human suffering, seeing that he always felt such pleasure in relieving it that he might be said to rejoice at the sight of an object of compassion—Murad felt his curiosity as well as sympathy strongly excited by the new comer, who looked so well in health that he was sure his sufferings must be those of the mind. He has met with some severe misfortune, thought Murad; perhaps he has lost a beloved wife, or darling child, or chosen companion; or he has the weight of guilt upon his soul. I will inquire into the cause of his grief, and administer consolation.

"Stranger," said Murad, approaching him, "thou seemest depressed with sorrow. Can I administer relief? If thou hast lost the friend thou hast loved, the wife of thy bosom, or the child of thy affection, I beseech thee to pour thy griefs into my ear. I am called Murad the Wise, and it is the province of wisdom to suggest topics of consolation to the afflicted. If thou hast suffered losses in trade, or been plundered by the artifices of others, lo! I am rich and can relieve thee."

"Benevolent Murad," answered Mustapha Tocat. "I have neither lost friend, wife, child, nor fortune. I have six of the most obedient wives, sixteen of the most beautiful children in all Asia Minor, and my wealth is sufficient to load forty camels. Yet, alas! I am the most miserable of men. I know not what to do with myself, and time hangs like a millstone about my neck. My days are passed in eating, drinking, sleeping, and smoking; and although it might be supposed that such a variety of agreeable occupation would make life pass very pleasantly, it is not so with me. My days seem as though they never would end, and my nights almost an eternity. I cannot sleep when I lay down on my couch at night, though scarcely able to keep awake by day. I turn from side to side, and if I lose myself for a few moments, am roused by some terrible dreams, or some strange feeling, or infirmity, which conjures up a legion of fantastic terrors. I am neither well nor sick; and for lack of something to occupy my mind, am always thinking of myself and exaggerating every little pain into a symptom of mortal disease. I have no appetite, yet eat enormously; I do nothing, yet am always tired; I am drowsy, but cannot sleep; I am alive without seeming to live; and at this moment envy, from the bottom of my heart, that slave of a porter, who is obliged to labor all day, or starve. O, Allah! would I only knew what to do with myself!"

At this moment the muselhim proclaimed the hour from a neighboring minaret, and Mustapha Tocat, as if reminded by the sound, started up briskly, and proceeded towards the city, exclaiming "Mahomet be praised! it will be time for dinner when I get home."

Murad the Wise remained in a deep and profound perplexity. These opposite examples, each leading to similar results, coming thus in quick succession, threw his mind into a chaos of confusion, from which he was at length extricated by a most happy thought. "I have it," cried he; it is the opposite extremes of wealth and poverty that produce the great mass of human misery. Were I to create a world I would give competence to all, enormous wealth to none. All would then be contented and happy."

He was roused from the delightful consciousness of having at length solved the great difficulty, by the approach of a person who, like the others, seemed discontented and unhappy. On being, as usual, interrogated by Murad, it appeared that he was very wretched because he was not so rich as Mustapha Tocat, so that he might retire from the toils of business, and set himself down quietly in the enjoyment of ease and splendor.

"Hast though not all the necessaries and comforts of life?" asked Murad.

"Yes—but I pine for something more—I want—"

"What?" said Murad, impatiently.

"I don't know precisely what—but I know very well I want something, and am resolved to procure it, if I slave all the rest of my life. I have no notion that Mustapha Tocat should have twenty slaves, while I have but two."

"Strange," quoth Murad, as the other departed. "How passing strange! I perceive that it is more difficult to do good than I thought. As to this last visiter, he has scattered my theory to the winds.—Upon the whole, I doubt the possibility of making all the world happy, unless man were created altogether different from the present race of mortals. I shall in future cease to estimate happiness by external circumstances. I will abandon my world, and be content with that created by Allah."

"Thou hast decided justly, and mayest hereafter merit the name of Murad the Wise," exclaimed the majestic old man, with the long white beard, who once more stood beside him. "Know, O Murad, that the distributions of Allah are far more just and equal than appears to the blindness of his creatures; and that it is not the stations we occupy, but the virtues we exercise, which create the only real diversities of human happiness. To abuse the blessings of Providence is far worse than never having enjoyed them, and the very beggar in rags is often happier than the monarch on his throne. Know, also, that at least an equal degree of suffering is caused by the unrestrained exercise of the will, as by its being bound in the fetters of slavery; that the miseries occasioned by being stinted in the necessaries of life are not greater than those arising from the abuse of superfluity; and that it is far better for the happiness of the great mass of mankind that they should be tasked with labor, than, like the unfortunate Mustapha Tocat, oppressed with the heaviest of all burdens, idleness. Farewell, Murad! Construct no more worlds, and believe that Allah is both just and merciful."

The old man departed without waiting an answer, and Murad returned a wiser man than he came.

From Mrs. Austin's Translations from the German Prose Writers.

LUTHER TO HIS COMPANIONS.

Grace and peace in Christ Jesus our Lord be with you, dear sirs, and friends! I have received all your letters, and understand therefrom how it fares with you all. That you may be aware how it fares with us, I hereby give you to know that we, namely I, Master Veit and Cyriac, do not go to the Diet at Augsburg: we are, however, here attending another diet.

For know that just beneath our window is a rookery in a small wood, and there do the rooks and jackdaws hold their diet. There is such a journeying to and fro, such a cry and clamor day and night without any ceasing, as they were all drunken; and old and young chatter all at once, that it is a marvel to me how voice and breath can so long hold it; and I would fain know whether, in your parts, you have any such-like nobles and cavaliers. It seems to me that they are gathered together here from all the ends of the earth.

Their emperor I have not yet seen, but their nobles and their great merchants are forever strutting before our eyes, not, in truth, in very costly garments, but rather simply clad in one color; they are all dressed in black; all are grey-eyed, and all sing the same song, save with some petty differences of old and young, great and small. They reck not of vast palace or stately hall, for their hall is roofed with the fair wide heaven. The floor is the bare field, strewed with dainty green twigs, and its walls are as wide as the world's end. Nor do they need steed or harness; they have feathered wheels wherewith they escape from the fire of their enemies, and avoid their rage. There are high and mighty lords amongst them; but what they resolve I know not. Thus much, however, have I gathered from an interpreter; that they have in hand a mighty expedition and war against wheat, barley, oats, rye, and all manner of corn and grain, and herein will many win knighthood, and do great feats of arms. We also sit here assembled in diet, and hear and see, with great pleasure and delight, how the princes and lords, together with the estates of the empire, so gayly sing and make good cheer. But especial joy have we when we see with how knightly an air they strut, clean their bills, and attack the defences; and how they gain conquest and glory against wheat and barley. We humbly salute them all, and wish that they were all spitted on a hedge-stake together.

I hold, however, that they are most like to the sophists and papists, with their preaching and writing; for so would I fain have them all in a heap before me, that I might hear all their sweet voices and preachings, and might see how right useful a folk they are to consume all that the earth brings forth, and to while away the heavy time in chattering.

To-day we have heard the nightingale for the first time; for she would put no trust in April. It has been right glorious weather all day, nor has it rained at all, except yesterday a little. With you it is perchance otherwise.

Herewith I commend you to God. Fare ye well!

[*From the Diet of Cornturks,* April*, 28, 1530.

* Mälztürken.

SLAVERY IN ABYSSINIA.

Extract of a letter from the Rev. C. W. Isenberg, to Mr. Richardson, of Malta, dated on the Nile, off Sint, October 7, 1843:

"I have reason to think that between 6,000 and 8,000 slaves are annually exported from Tadjurra, Zeyla, and Berbera, the greater part of them passing through Shoa. They are carried thither from Zindjerry, Guraque, Enarea, from the Jallas, the negroes and several other nations, and parts of the interior. The King of Shoa takes as duty one slave out of ten, and has, of course, the choice. Himself is immediately proprietor of at least 2,000 slaves, who serve him in his household, as carriers of water, carriers of wood, cooks, millers, spinners, &c. Besides these, a large number of people have, either for debts, or for some offences committed by themselves or by their ancestors, lost their liberty, a punishment which in the first degree is confined to the guilty person, and ends with his death in the highest degree; when it is inflicted for capital offences, it extends to the children and children's children of the offender, lasting to 'the seventh generation,' an expression which signifies, perhaps, 'forever.'

"You may imagine this sort of slaves must be very numerous; and so it is. The King of Shoa, therefore, will not likely be thought a friend to the Anti-Slavery cause, nor seems his communication with Europeans any way to have favorably disposed him; for the exports of slaves are as numerous now as they were formerly. Large masses of slaves, about 500 or 600, were exported during our stay at Zeyla; nor could even the embassy, one of whose chief objects was undoubtedly the gradual suppression of the slave-trade, avoid returning to the coast in company with a caravan, which carried an enormous number of slaves. Even Shermarke, a native Somali, who acts as agent for the English at Zeyla and Berbera, has a considerable share in the slave-trade on this coast. At Massowa I found it impossible to obtain any exact information as to the number of exported slaves; but I should think, judging from the numbers which I formerly saw passing through Adoa, that the annual average may be about 2,000. The number of these that come from Goadai, via Sennaar, to Egypt, must be considerably larger. I am sorry to say that even the Aboon, of whom so many hopes were entertained, and who promised to abolish the slave-trade in Abyssinia, himself, rather encouraged it by sending from time to time slaves as presents to Egypt; but it is still more inexcusable, that even Europeans, in those quarters, do not keep their hands clean from that abominable traffic."

A MORAL LANDMARK.

A travelling correspondent of the Boston Transcript writes the following from Canada:

Soon after leaving Montreal, I noticed some miles to the East a high cross on one of the most elevated mountain-peaks in the neighborhood, and on making inquiry about it, I learned the following history: Four or five years ago, a French Bishop visited the Canadas, on a crusade against intemperance, and in a short time his success was such that he numbered 50,000 converts, who desired, before the Bishop left the country, to erect some monument to remind them of their pledge, and his noble labors, and as the theatre of his toils was in sight of the mountain in question, it was determined to erect this cross. The mountain is 2000 feet above the level of the St. Lawrence, and the cross is 90 feet high; and when I saw it standing up in bold relief against a dark, heavy cloud in the back ground, along the horizon, there was something exceedingly grand and picturesque about it. Every morning 50,000 converts can turn their eyes to this memento to remind them of their vows. I know of nothing in my travels that has struck me more forcibly than this simple cross. But what is more singular, in a basin on the mountain, 1700 feet above the St. Lawrence, is a lake half a mile in extent, which has been consecrated, and is now used in all the neighboring churches as holy water.

INDIAN NAMES.—[Hon. Caleb Cushing's Letters from the East, to the American National Institute, published in the National Intelligencer.]—In conclusion, permit me to subjoin a few words of explanation in regard to the name of Bombay. Europeans in general, and the English not least, have travestied all the proper names, sometimes from original misapprehension as to the true name, but more frequently from the blundering diversity of writing and spelling which grows up in the attempt to translate the letters of a foreign language into one's own. Our language is, above all others, capricious and uncertain in its pronunciation. Nobody could guess the true pronunciation of such plain names as Beaufort and Belvoir, to say nothing of Cholmondilly and Majoribanks. Yet these are familiar English names. How much greater the difficulty in Asiatic names, alike stranger to the eye and the ear. Oftentimes it happens that the name we use is the translation of a translation, and thus involves the accustomed blunders of successive stages of transition. Thus many of the Asiatic names were brought to Europe by French or Portuguese, who endeavored to represent the sound by letters of the Alphabet according to their pronunciation; and then we adopt their letters, but pronounce them as if they were our letters. Sometimes we thus translate a name originally false, through two or three languages.

Thus, there is a people in Africa, for instance, who have a very good name of their own, and who, being long descended Christians, our elders if not our betters in that respect, would seem to be entitled to pass in the world by a name of their own selection. But the Arabs had given them the nickname of *Habesh*, (half-breeds,) in allusion to their blood, mixed of Arabic and African; this was Latinized into Abyssinia; and we persevere, in despite of their remonstrance, to call them Abyssinians. This case was originally one of misapprehension on the part of the Europeans, and is pardonable. But of the innumerable cases of mere blundering, some are unpardonable, because gratuitous and voluntary. Thus, when one finds the word *Scinde* in an English book, who can guess what it implies? Whether it be a word of two syllables or of one?—Whether the object of the *e* is to lengthen the *i*? Whether the *c* has any *distinct* sound? If so, what that sound is? If not, why it is put there? Afterward, if he happen to see the word spelt simply and naturally *Sindh*, a new light breaks upon him, and he is vexed at the folly of those who, with the means of knowing and doing better, had so foolishly propagated the custom of spelling it *Scinde*. Happily, this case was a remediable one. But the blunder is now irretrievable by which Calicata has been transmuted into Calcutta, Colicodu into Calicut, Udayapura into Odeypoor, Jayapura into Jeypoor, Varuni into Borneo, Gunga into Ganges, Ayodhya into Oude, Mandirraj into Madras, Govay into Goa, Cholomandala into Coromandel, Chitradurga into Chittledroog, Jasar into Jessore, Surashta into Surat, Barigosha into Broach, Cach'ha into Cutch, and Bombadevi into Bombay. One of the rocky points of Bombay was the site of a fane to the Indian Goddess Bombadevi. Of old, it was not rare in India for the name of the shrine of the divinity to pass to the place in which it was situated, and thus it happened in this instance.

MINIATURE OF MILTON.—A miniature of Milton has recently come to light by Samuel Cooper, which has been purchased by the Duke of Buccleugh for a hundred guineas. The miniature bears a general likeness to the portraits of the great poet, taken after his blindness—but has a finer, more youthful, and more elevated expression. It is about being engraved. In this dirty and dilapidated state, it was sold for £2 10s.

ILLUMINATION OF NIAGARA FALLS.—A visiter at the Falls thus writes to the editor of the Brooklyn Star: "The spray which rises from the horse-shoe falls to a great height, I think contains a jet of hydrogen gas, and I regretted much that I had not brought a ball of platinum sponge which I had prepared with a tube and with a pole to place in this jet, thus igniting the gas, and producing a blaze which would surpass, in the splendor of its great corruscations, the great hydrogen walls of Kenawha. The Falls would make a splendid bonfire; and if I am right in supposing a column of hydrogen to pass upward from this cataract, the blaze would be almost perpetual."

LIME AND RATS.—A gentleman of this city who had occasion to use considerable lime about his premises, which had heretofore been much infested with rats, informed us that these destructive little animals had suddenly ceased to appear, or to annoy him;—"before using this lime," said he, "you could scarcely walk across the yard after night without treading on them." He showed us several of their principal holes, around which he had deposited a small portion of fresh or unslacked lime, which evidently had the effect of driving them from these places, which they had before resorted to in great numbers. The above is a simple and cheap method of getting rid of this annoying and destructive pest: suppose you try it?—*Memphis Appeal.*

The Rev. Sydney Smith is notoriously one of the greatest wits in England. A friend once sent him a note, requesting him to sit for his portrait to Landseer, the great animal painter. Sydney wrote back, "Is thy servant a *dog* that he should do this thing?"

An exchange paper, in speaking of the growing importance of Memphis, Tennessee, says: "The population amounts to six thousand persons, and sixty-five thousand bales of cotton."

This is very like a learned Professor's description of Albany: "It contains six thousand houses, and twenty-five thousand inhabitants, all standing with their gable ends to the street."

Graham House, 63 Barclay St.

CITIZENS, or transient visitors desiring a quiet home, where a real Temperance diet is proffered them, consisting of Vegetables, Fruits, &c. without stimulants or flesh meats, are invited to patronize this house. Terms moderate. Shower-baths free.

August 8. ROSWELL GOSS.

Books,

For Sale at the Office of the American A. S. Society, 142 Nassau St. N. Y.

THE LIBERTY BELL of 1844, an Annual, published for the Massachusetts Fair, and consisting of various original articles, from the ablest Anti-Slavery writers in this country, Great Britain and Ireland.

XIMENA, AND OTHER POEMS, by *James Bayard Taylor*. Philadelphia, 1844.

THE BROTHERHOOD OF THIEVES, or a true picture of the AMERICAN CHURCH AND CLERGY, by *S. S. Foster*; and various other standard Anti-Slavery works.

New-York, July 4, 1844.

TEXAN REVOLUTION.

Republished (with additions) at Washington, D. C., from the Northampton (Mass.) Gazette.

To which is added,—

A LETTER FROM WASHINGTON, ON THE ANNEXATION OF TEXAS, AND THE LATE OUTRAGE IN CALIFORNIA—REPUBLISHED, WITH ADDITIONS, FROM THE LIBERATOR. By Probus.

This is a pamphlet of about 100 large octavo pages Only a small part consists of the republications; the additions being ten or twelve times larger than the originals. The subjects discussed, are:—

I. The history and merits of the Texan Revolution, under the following heads:

1. The perfidy of the President, and the lawless proceedings of citizens of the United States, who went to Texas "to sow a rebellion."

2. Kindness, hospitality, and generosity of the Mexicans; ingratitude and treachery of the revolutionists.

3. Pretexts of the Revolution. Under this head is a very full account of the political changes which have taken place in Mexico, and of their causes;—the working of the Federative or Federal form of Government, as compared with the Consolidated or Central, in the South American States; a comparative history of *Nullification* in Mexico and the United States; the difference between the South American Federal and Central systems substantially that between our present form of government, and the form proposed by ALEXANDER HAMILTON; the political history of the South American States, and the history and prospects of nullification in the United States, some test of the comparative value of the two systems.

4. Real Causes of the Texan Revolution.

II. The subject of the second Part, or Letter, is the design of annexing Texas to this Union, *at the first session of the next Congress*. The subdivisions of this subject are:—

1. Review of a letter (said to have been, originally, private,) of ex-Governor Gilmer, of Virginia, on the necessity of the speedy annexation of Texas.

2. The principles, speeches, reports, official correspondence, and operations of the leading and confidential friends of John Tyler, in the Cabinet, and in Congress; the alliance between them and the leading members of the democratic party for the extension and perpetuation of slavery and the slave trade, by the acquisition of Texas and California; the outrage committed by Commodore Jones in the latter province, a part, and in execution, of the secret schemes of the cabinet, and a natural result of their spirit and purposes; the ostensible reasons for that outrage examined.

3. The determination and tendency of their policy to bring about a war between the United States of the one part, and Mexico and Great Britain of the other; it being perfectly understood that the former cannot be despoiled of territory fifteen times as large as the State of New-York, and eighty times as large as Massachusetts, without war with Great Britain, as well as with her

4. The Oregon Bill, a part of the said schemes.

5. The questions of *Visitation* and *Search*, on the coast of Africa, for the arrest of slave trading pirates; the actual extent of the slave trade, and its exclusive prosecution under the American flag; the Quintuple and Ashburton Treaties, Gen. Cass's pamphlet and correspondence in France.

6. Negotiations of our government with Mexico for the cession of Texas and California, from the accession of Gen. Jackson to the present time; Character and proceedings of Messrs. Poinsett and Butler, ministers of the United States, in Mexico; suppression, and probable destruction of official documents; *corruption* brought to light; correspondence of Messrs. Webster and Thompson, with Messrs. de Bocanegra and Almonte; *mistranslations*, in our Department of State, and in our Legation at Mexico, of Mexican official documents.

APPENDIX.

1. John Quincy Adams's opinion of the conduct of our government towards Mexico, extracted from his address to his constituents, September 12, 1842.

2. Collection of Proclamations of neutrality, issued by Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Van Buren, and Tyler.

☞ For Sale at this Office.

Education and Industry!

THE Northampton Association of Education and Industry have appropriated a suitable tenement for the accommodation of fifteen or twenty boarding pupils. They will be members of a family, under the care of the Director of Education, assisted by his wife, and other teachers, and will be subject to the same treatment and regulations as pupils who are members of the association.—The name of the association indicates the idea of culture, towards the realization of which our efforts will be directed. Systematic, habitual industry is deemed indispensable to education, which should aim at the harmonious development of the physical, intellectual, moral, and religious tendencies in active, practical life.

We shall consider $100 a year as an equivalent for instruction and board; from which a suitable deduction will be made when a pupil comes for several years. The year will commence on the 1st of May, next, and will have no fixed and entire vacation. Pupils will be received for a year at any time.

O. MACK, *Director of Education.*